...ION OR SEPARATION.

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE

BY THE REV. DR. TUCKER,

DEAN OF GLOUCESTER,

AND

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

IN

THIS TRACT

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT,

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE IRELAND AND CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

[In this Work, the great Objections urged at a Meeting of the Irish Bishops fully considered and confuted.]

"TROS TYRIUSVE MIHI NULLO DISCRIMINE AGETUR."

LONDON:

SOLD BY J. HATCHARD & J. WRIGHT, 187 PICCADILLY; CLARKE, NEW BOND-STREET; AND RIVINGTONS, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

1799.

Preface.

THE magnitude, and importance of the commercial propoſitions in 1785, had led men to inveſtigate the poſitive and relative conditions of the Siſter Kingdoms, in order to underſtand the extent of that negociation. This ſubject occaſioned much private inquiry and diſcuſſion between Dean Tucker and Dr. Clarke: and out of it aroſe the queſtion of an Incorporative Union. Dr. Clarke enjoyed at that period the conſtant ſociety of this able and excellent man; and now reflects on it as an honour and happineſs of his life. The common occurrences, however, of human affairs having ſeparated them, their intercourſe was afterward kept up by

correſpondence: and the queſtion of an Union was ſtill diſcuſſed, until Dr. Clarke was too far removed from the ſcene of Britiſh Politics, and no where ſtationary for the regularity of communication upon ſuch topics. But the opinions, which had been urged by the Dean, upon a ſubject of ſuch magnitude, ſeem too valuable for oblivion at a moment ſo important as the preſent, and which this profound Politician had long foreſeen and often anticipated, in his diſcourſe. His arguments, therefore, without their meaning being marred, or their reaſoning weakened, but as they were drawn up himſelf, are, with permiſſion, ſubmitted to the Public, by Dr. Clarke. To his great and virtuous friend his debt of gratitude has been always large: his love and veneration will be endleſs.

UNION
OR
SEPARATION.

THE Firſt Civil Compact took place between Britain and Ireland, at a moment when Government in the latter was the inſtrument of caprice, or the incentive of Rebellion. The Policy however, under an *Imperial Union* formed by Henry II; was barbarouſly defective: it long excluded the Iriſh from the benefit of the Engliſh Laws. The ground was thus laid of a jealous odious and diſgraceful diſtinction,* which has been kept up by ſucceeding circumſtances, and prevails down to this day. Accumulated misfortunes at this moment might be traced back to this unwiſe Policy under the *Imperial*, and we may ſay, *Dependent Union*.

Another Union however aroſe between Great Britain and Ireland upon a vaſt com-

* Engliſhman and Proteſtant have but one term in the Iriſh Language.

bination of cauſes, and a ſingular concurrence of events. In 1779, Freedom of Commerce was eſtabliſhed for Ireland: in 1782 her Legiſlative Dependency was formally Renounced by the Parliament of Great Britain: and hence ſhe dates her *Federal* or *Free Union*.

Men however of found political experience beheld this meaſure with concern. Things were changed, but not corrected. The conſequences were foreſeen by them and foretold. But what muſt now follow? The Imperial or Dependent Union proved Defective; the Federal or Free Union has proved Defective: there is therefore no reſource now left but a Real or Incorporative Union. That or Separation muſt enſue.

This is not the ſentence of a raſh judgment or an haſty moment: it is the deliberate opinion of a man, whoſe ability to combine cauſes and calculate effects, and whoſe honeſty to ſpeak out and foretel theſe effects, have rendered him Prophetic in the Political World. I may ſay this of him without ſuſpicion of flattery, and with deep ſorrow I may ſay it, for he will probably never

never know it. We ſhall never enjoy again the guidance of this great Luminary—he has cloſed with the hand of venerable age the book of Politics for ever.

Let us then liſten to the high authority of Dean Tucker on this queſtion of an Incorporative Union. We ſhall find three of the great Popular Objections, which the Patriots of Ireland are pleaſed to urge with a moſt deciſive tone againſt this meaſure diſtinctly conſidered and confuted by him.

Firſt: the Poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of thoſe Taxes, which the Riches of England enable her to ſuſtain with eaſe and comfort.

Secondly: in caſe of an Union, the greater number of Engliſh Members in ſuch an United Parliament compared with the few Iriſh, would enable England, when any competition ſhould ariſe between the two Countries, reſpecting Trade, Manutures and Navigation, to favour England and oppreſs Ireland.

Thirdly: the money now ſpent in Ireland, by means of a Parliament held in Dublin, would in that caſe, be tranſported to England, to the great Enrichment of the one Country, and Impoveriſhment of the other.

Fourthly: that an Union tends ultimately to a Separation.

Fifthly: that a Moral Aſſimilation with Britain, or an amelioration of the Manners of the People of Ireland may not be expected from the ſuppoſed Incorporation of the two Legiſlatures.

Theſe are the grand Objections ſo loudly inſiſted on; which we own are very popular, and therefore in ſome ſenſe formidable: but we cannot eſteem them ſolid. However let us examine them.

"*The firſt Poſition is, that the Poverty "of Ireland cannot bear the Weight of "thoſe Taxes, which the Riches of Eng-

*Note: All Paſſages with inverted Commas contain the arguments of Dean Tucker, drawn up in 1785, in anſwer to the Objections then ſubmitted to him by Dr. Clarke.

" land enable her to ſuſtain with no great " Difficulty, or rather with much Eaſe.

" Now here, under the Expreſſions *Pover-* " *ty* and *Riches*, as applied comparatively " to both Countries, a Fallacy is concealed, " of which probably ſome are not aware.

" In all States, Kingdoms or Countries " whatſoever, and more particularly in Ire- " land, the Poor are by far the greater " Number. Therefore the Queſtion comes " to this: Are the great Majority of the " People of England ſo heavily and oppreſ- " ſively taxed, as to ſuffer great Miſery on that Account? And were the Poor, that " is, the ſtill greater Majority of the People " of Ireland to be ſubject to the like Taxes, " could they ſupport themſelves under ſuch " a Weight. To clear up this Point, let " it be obſerved, that the Taxes laid on " the People of England, may be ſummed " up under the following Heads.

" 1. The Land-Tax, including likewiſe " Houſes, and Windows.

2. The

"2. The Cuſtom-Houſe Duties on the "Importation of foreign Produce, foreign "Manafactures, and foreign Luxuries.

"3. The Exciſe on Articles of home "conſumption, under which Head, Salt "may likewiſe be included.

"4. The new Duties on Coaches, Car-"riages, Horſes, Servants, Hats," Dogs, Armorial-bearings, Powder, &c.

"5. The Stamp Duties, which of late "have been ſo extended, as to comprehend "a vaſt Variety of Articles.

"6. The Tax for defraying the Poſtage "of Letters.

"7. The Poor-Tax in its different "Branches.

"Now, let any one ſeriouſly conſider, "which of theſe, and whether any of them "do really fall on the labouring Poor of "England, to any conſiderable Degree, "unleſs it be their own Fault? And whe-"ther the great Majority of the Engliſh "Nation has any juſt Cauſe to complain "on that Account?

"For

"1ſt. As to the Land-Tax, and that "on Houſes and Windows, not only the "menial Servants of both Sexes, but alſo "the Journey-men and Journey-women "throughout the Kingdom, the low Mecha-"nics the Fiſhermen and Sailors, the Day-"Labourours and Cottagers, are almoſt uni-"verſally excuſed. I do not enter into the "Reaſons, which induce the Aſſeſſors both "in Town and Country, to omit them, and "thereby to excuſe this numerous Claſs "from paying Taxes: but I do aſſert this "to be the Fact: for hardly any of them "are ever rated: and therefore they do "not pay. In ſome Inſtances the Laws "themſelves excuſe them: and in others "a Connivance almoſt univerſally pre-"vails.

"2. As to the Duties on the Importa-"tion of foreign Goods, Manufactures, or "Luxuries—I hope I may inſiſt upon it "without Offence, that the lower Claſs of "People in England may enjoy very com-"fortably good Food, decent Raiment, and "warm Dwellings (the three great Neceſ-"ſaries of Life) without paying a ſingle "Tax for the Importation of any thing

"from

"from abroad. Therefore if any of them "chose to indulge themselves in such Ele- "gancies, or Luxuries, as are brought from "foreign Countries, they ought to pay "for their Prodigality: and have none to "blame but themselves.

"3. The Excise is the next Article to "be considered. And here it must be con- "fessed, that in a few Instances, and in a "very small Degree, even the frugal in "the lower Classes may be taxed. The "Excise on Malt, Hops and Cyder, also "on Soap, Candles and Leather, with the "Duty on Salt, must affect the most par- "simonious among them in some small pro- "portion. But were they to be content "with a moderate Quantity of Cyder, or "one-way Beer,—and were they to buy "the other Articles at the best Hand, it is "not possible, that these Taxes (though "the worst of any) could essentially hurt "or impoverish them. As to the heavy "Tax on spiritous Liquors, this is so far "from being a real Grievance, that were it so "high, as to amount to an absolute Pro- "hibition (if that were possible) it would "be the greatest Blessing, which could be- "fall the common People.

As

" As to the new Duties laid on Coaches, " Carriages, Horſes, Male Servants, fine " Hats," Armorial Bearings, Powder, &c. " theſe ſurely do not affect the labouring " Poor: for they are exempted by their " very condition from paying any of theſe " Taxes.

" 5. The like Obſervations may extend " to the Stamp Duties in all their Branches. " Indeed, if the ignorant Populace will buy " Newſpapers, and commence Politicians, " they are not to be pitied; for they ought " to pay for their folly.

" 6. The Tax on the Poſtage of Letters " cannot materially affect the Poor, and " even if it did, the Poſt-Tax is ſo much " cheaper than any other Mode of Convey- " ance, that it cannot be made a Matter of " Complaint.

" Laſtly, as to the Tax for the Mainte- " nance of the Poor, burdenſome as it is " here in England, this falls altogether on " the middling and higher Ranks in Society, " and not on the loweſt, or the meaneſt.

" Upon the whole, it evidently appears, " even from this brief Survey, that the Ma- " jority of the Engliſh Nation, [that is, " male and female Servants, low Mecha- " nics, Journey-men, Fiſhermen, and Sai-

" lors, Day-labourers, and all kinds of Cot-
" tagers, with their numerous Families],
" are not heavily or oppreſſively taxed.
" And ſuppoſing that ſimilar Taxes were to
" be laid on Ireland, the Poor of that Coun-
" try would eſcape Tax-free*, at leaſt ac-
" cording to their preſent mode of living;
" for they uſe and conſume much leſs Malt,
" Hops, and Cyder, leſs Salt, Soap, and
" Candles, Leather, and Stamps, than the
" Poor of England are known to do. There-
" fore they have much leſs to pay.

" But, indeed, were an Union to take
" place, why ſhould it be ſuppoſed that the
" Taxes muſt be invariably the ſame?
" They are not ſo in Scotland, nor can any
" Reaſon be aſſigned why they muſt be
" exactly the ſame in Ireland. On the con-
" trary, many Regulations might be ſug-
" geſted, eſpecially in regard to the Land-
" Tax, which would enrich Ireland, inſtead

" *The claim of opening Parliament to Popiſh pre-
" tenſions is ſaid to be a claim made on the right of
" three Millions. Now of theſe three Millions, it is a
" known fact, that two millions, one Hundred Thou-
" ſand are, by the late Hearth Money Act, *exeuſed on ac-
" count* of poverty *from paying* four-pence *a year each to
" the State.*"

Speech of Robert Johnſon, Eſq. Member for Hillſ-
borough, before the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, May 24,
1795.—Dublin, Printed by Mercier.

of

" of impoveriſhing it. For it can never be
" too often repeated, that any Tax, which
" promotes Induſtry and encourages a cir-
" culation of Labour, enriches a Country;
" and any Tax, which checks Induſtry
" and ſtops Labour, neceſſarily impoveriſhes
" the Country in the ſame Proportion.
" This is the true Touch-ſtone for diſcover-
" ing the Merit or Demerit of any Tax.

" Ireland is continually complaing that
" her Trade is *crampt*, and her People
" have not Work; yet there are no People
" under the Sun who take ſo much Pains
" to cramp her Trade, and check her In-
" duſtry, as the Iriſh themſelves. Were
" they to create an Yeomanry [and they
" alone * muſt do it], this very circumſtance
" would raiſe up ſuch a Demand for the
" Conſumption of their internal Produce,
" and coarſe Manufactures, as would give
" full Employment to their preſent *miſera-*
" *ble*, *lazy*, *ſtarving Poor*, for Ages to come.
" But they unhappily expect a Foreign
" Trade, without an Home Conſumption;

* The great tracts of land that are given in leaſe, and divided by the Leſſee, to be ſub-divided by other Leſſees, until the Cottager is cruſhed by the number of thoſe, whom he has to ſupport above him, is a ſore and crying evil. It is hence that the lands in Ireland are let § higher, though they are purchaſed cheaper than in this country; while the Tenant does

thereby

" thereby graſping at the Shadow, and let-
" ting go the Subſtance. They think it
" good Policy to *keep the Maſs of their People*
" *ſo poor, and ſo deſtitute of the three great Neceſ-*
" *ſaries of Life, Food, Raiment, and Dwelling,*
" [which, by the by, are the Foundation of
" all Commerce whatever, even the moſt
" brilliant and extenſive] that their *black*
" *cattle are* almoſt, if not altogether, *as good*
" *Cuſtomers to the Community*, and as much
" promote the Trade of it, as the Peaſantry
" of Ireland—that is, in other words, as

not receive as much for his produce; and even of the returns of this produce, he has by no means a portion equal to that of the Engliſh Tenant. Were the gentlemen of Ireland to adopt the plain principle of thoſe in England, by taking one third of the produce of the land, and giving the remaining two thirds to the Farmer for his profit and expences of cultivation; and if the lands were let ſolely to thoſe who occupie them, a yeomanry would ſoon ariſe valuable to all parties.

§ Mr. Arthur Young's opinion is, that if an allowance be made for the diſproportion between the Engliſh and Iriſh acre, and the difference of the currency (1s. 8d. in the pound) in both Countries the lands of Ireland are not let higher than thoſe of England. There is a deference due to the inveſtigations of Mr. Young; and his opinion is juſt, if formed upon the Rental received by the *owners in Fee* of the lands of Ireland; for their rents are extremely low and moderate. Or if he has formed his calculation upon the Rental of even the Leſſees under the *Owner in Fee*, (many of whoſe Tenures are for 999 years) it may perhaps be juſt. But if a calculation were formed upon the Rental paid by the *Cultivators* in Ireland (whoſe caſe we are here conſidering) and upon that paid by the ſame deſcription in England, it would be found after all allowances for ſize of Acre and currency of Money, that the Lands of Ireland are let higher than thoſe of England. This is an opinion formed upon much enquiry and intercourſe with the two Countries.

five-

"five-ſixths, perhaps as nine-tenths of the "Maſs of the People.

This is a point which calls for peculiar conſideration, as one of the firſt importance, in theſe times. At every period, however, Huſbandmen are of higher value to a State than thoſe endowed with the ſharpeſt Invention or moſt profound Genius. But if Induſtry be not animated by due remunerations, all the rich gifts of God and Nature to that Iſland are vain. As well might great portions of its Land have remained buried in the Chaos, or overwhelmed by the Waters. Under Incorporation, new repoſe and widely extended Trade muſt ariſe, with a whole ſyſtem of induſtry, encouragement, and happineſs, bleſſing and exalting the Nation. Incorporation is the angular ſtone of its greatneſs. Its Natives, whoſe talents and induſtry are ſcattered over the earth, will no longer explore foreign Climates or dangerous Deſarts, if they be happy at home. Neither will foreign markets be ſo neceſſary for Commerce, when there is through home Induſtry an home * Trade and good

*Perhaps a better criterion of the happy effects of induſtry can not be had than the home conſumption of Britain compared with its trade all over the Globe. The profits of the *home* trade are calculated by Mr. Pitt at 28 Million: The profits on the foreign trade at but 12 ditto.

price

price for the Commodities. The influence extending from this to the Agricultural Syſtem will put all theſe co-operating powers in motion, which tend to the population and proſperity of Ireland. For Agriculture is not only the firſt and great ſource of wealth to a State; but Agriculture and Population are like the ocean and the rivers which ſupplie each other. Agriculture promotes Population, by invigorating the bodies of Men, and by furniſhing food for an increaſed progeny. And Population promotes Agriculture by the conſumption of the fruits of the earth. Agriculture gives *exiſtence* to the Landed Intereſt, Population is its *ſupport*.

" Were a Land-Tax* of 100,000l. a year " to be conſtantly levied on Lands and " Houſes in Ireland, as in England: but " were the *Occupiers* of Dwelling Houſes in " Cities, Towns, and Villages, under the " Rent of three pounds a year, to be totally " exempted; alſo every Cottage or Cabbin " in the Country, to which was annexed

" * The greateſt Advantage attending the Engliſh Land-" Tax is, that it is not ſubject to fluctuations in the " proportions to be obſerved. In which it widely differs " from the Land-Taxes in France, which aroſe according " to the improvement of Land, or the advancement of Rent. " What the Proportions were on each County, City, or " Borough Town in the Reign of King William, the ſame

any

"any quantity of Land, not exceeding "*half* an Iriſh Acre, to be exempted like-"wiſe; moreover, were every Farm, not "exceeding 50 Iriſh Acres [provided it had "a *Dwelling Houſe* upon it, *inhabited* by the "Farmer, or Owner himſelf], to be taxed "only three-pence annually for each Acre; "were every other Farm, circumſtanced in "the ſame manner, and not exceeding 100 "Iriſh Acres, to be taxed ſix-pence annual-"ly for each Acre; but were all other "Lands or Farms of a larger extent, or "not ſo circumſtanced, to be rated to the "Land-Tax at two ſhillings per Acre [un-"leſs they happened to be barren Rock, or "inclaimable Bog, not capable of improve-"ment, or Lands covered with Woods, or "Coppices] theſe few regulations would "ſoon fill the Iriſh Towns and Cities with "induſtrious Inhabitants, and the Country "with laborious Cottagers and working "Farmers; moſt of them in eaſy circum-

"Proportions have remained to this Day. Conſequently "the Sum levied on each Individual operates as a *Quit* "*Rent* on his Eſtate, to *ſpur* him on to improve it as "much as he can; knowing, that if he ſhould improve "his Eſtate ſo much as to double, or treble his Rental, "he ſhall pay no more; and were he to let the Land "run into an uncultivated Wilderneſs, he ſhould pay no "leſs. The great Improvements of the landed Eſtates "in England, date their Origin from this Cauſe."

ſtances

" ſtances, and none too proud or too lazy
" for their Condition and Station in Life.

" Another good Circumſtance would na-
" turally ariſe from ſuch a Plan. The pre-
" ſent Clamors for protecting Duties and
" prohibitory Laws would ceaſe of courſe.
" Clamors which betray a total Ignorance
" of the true Intereſt of that Country, be-
" cauſe Ireland ought always to excite an
" Emulation among her Mechanics and Ma-
" nufacturers to excel her Rivals, inſtead of
" checking and preventing it by Monopo-
" lies, Pains, and Penalties. And above
" all, Ireland ſhould never uſe ſuch a con-
" duct towards other Nations, eſpecially
" towards the Engliſh, her beſt, and almoſt
" only Cuſtomers, as would provoke them
" to retaliate the Injury upon herſelf with
" redoubled Vengeance. For were Eng-
" land to lay the ſame Duties on Iriſh Lin-
" ens, which ſhe doth on German, and
" other foreign Linens:—the whole Linen
" Trade of Ireland, her only Staple Manu-
" facture, and the ſource of all her Wealth,
" would ſink to nothing.*

* There have been 52,000,000 yards of Linen exported in one year. Great Britain by her protection ſecures a monopoly of this branch to Ireland. In the Engliſh market Iriſh Linens have an advantage of 37 per Cent. over German Linens, and receive a bounty of three-half-pence per yard on re-exportation.

"The Second popular Objection againſt "an Union, is *that the Engliſh and Scotch "Members, in this ſuppoſed united Parlia-"ment, being ſo many more in Number than "the Iriſh, the Majority would conſpire a-"gainſt the Minority, and out-vote them on all "Occaſions of Competition: ſo that Ireland "would be oppreſſed inſtead of being benefited.*

"Strange Deluſion! which takes theſe "things for granted, that are both *impro-"bable* in Theory, and impracticable in "Fact. The Suppoſition is utterly impro-"bable, that an Union ſhould ever take "Place, without ſuch *Preliminaries being "ſettled*, as would prevent either of the con-"tracting Parties from having the Power

for all, whereof the value does not exceed eighteen-pence yer yard.

Such are the advantages on the Linen Trade: let us now ſee what are the advantages on general Trade between the two Countries.

In the year 1795 the Iriſh Imports, into the Port of London, amounted to	£.	2,209,501	3 4
Britiſh Manufacture exported from thence to Ireland		168,687	18 3
Balance of Trade in *favour of Ireland* from only one Port		2,040,813	5 1

N. B. The balance at Liverpool, where the Linens are chiefly imported, muſt be immenſe.

"to lay a greater Burden of Taxes, or "to put more Reſtraints on Trade, or to "curtail any of the Liberties of the other "Party, beyond what the Articles of Union "ſhall authorize. An Infraction of the "Terms diſſolves the Union *ipſo facto*, and "reſtores the injured Country to its former "ſtate of Independence."

"The like Conſpiracy is equally *impract-* "*icable* in Fact, becauſe where there is "no Claſhing of Intereſt, there can be no "Competition either for *Power** or *Profit*. "Thus, for Example, when Ireland ſhall "be ſo united, as to form one Country "with England, the Power of the one "will equally become the Power of the "other. No man conſiders the ſtrength of "Yorkſhire, as in any Degree ſeparate "from, or oppoſed to that of Devonſhire "and Cornwall; though they are much "farther diſtant from each other, than "England and Ireland. For they both "muſt ſtand, or fall, or riſe together. And "the Caſe of Scotland affords a ſtill ſtronger "Illuſtration.

* The principle of this argument applies wtih no ſmall force to the Internal Parties of Ireland, in favor of an Incorporative Union.

"As to Profit, or Intereſt, the ſame "Ideas muſt recur. For, properly ſpeak- "ing, no Competition of Intereſts can have "any Effect on the Legiſlature, to make "partial Laws on either Side;—it being "evident, that each Country, and each "part of the Iſland muſt enjoy their own "peculiar Advantages, natural, or artifi- "cial, without Let or Moleſtation. At this "inſtant Yorkſhire is getting the Cloath- "ing Trade from the Weſt of England, "by means of its ſuperior Frugality, Oeco- "nomy, mechanic Skill, and Induſtry. "And what will be the Conſequence? "Plainly this, that the Weſt muſt adopt "the like Meaſures and Police with the "North, or deſervedly ſuffer for their "Folly. But according to the Notion here "broached, another Mode might be adopt- "ed. Yorkſhire returns only 30 Members "to Parliament; whereas the ſeveral Coun- "ties of Glouceſter, Wilts, Dorſet, and "Somerſet, much of the ſame Extent with "Yorkſhire and all united in one com- "mon monopolizing Cauſe againſt it, re- "turn no leſs than 80 Members. There- "fore poor Yorkſhire ought to be in a "terrible Fright, leſt this vaſt Majori- "ty in the Houſe of Commons ſhall enact

" reſtraining, or prohibitory Laws to cruſh " the Trade of the North, in Order to " favour the Manufactures of the Weſt?

" No: Yorkſhire is in no Fright: and " entertains no ſuch apprehenſions: nor " even Scotland: notwithſtanding this lat- " ter hath not a twelfth Part or Share " in the Legiſlature of Britain. Yet all " Parts are ſafe, and will ever ſo remain: " for it is not in the Power of the Ma- " jority to hurt the Minority in theſe Re- " ſpects. Such a Scheme would defeat itſelf.

" The laſt objection, and perhaps the " moſt popular of any in the Streets of " Dublin, is, *that were the Parliament in " Ireland to be removed to England the Money " now ſpent in Dublin, would be loſt to that " Country and gained to this.*"

" Now this objection is built on a vul- " gar Notion, which is entirely falſe, " that *Money is Riches.* Whereas Induſtry " and Frugality are the two Riches of a " State: and money only the Sign of " them. Nay, if Money becomes the " Sign of Riches in one Senſe, it may be " an Indication of Poverty in another. " For the Circulation of Gold and Silver, " or the transferring of theſe Metals from " Hand to Hand, is no otherwiſe uſeful

" to a State, than as it promotes the Cir-
" culation of Labour and general induſ-
" try. Wherever it is not productive of
" this good Effect, the greateſt Quantity
" of Gold and Silver is ſo far from being
" beneficial to the Community, that it
" is the greateſt Detriment. The Spani-
" ards have experienced this to their coſt.
" Hiſtory tells us, there was a Time when
" Spain was full of Induſtry and Manu-
" factures. But when a Mode was intro-
" duced of getting Money without Labour,
" by means of the mines of Mexico and
" Peru, and by plundering and ſeizing on
" the Wealth of the defenceleſs Moors, and
" Jews, the Looms and all the Aparatuſſes
" for carrying on extenſive Manufactures
" were laid aſide: and Spain ſoon became
" one of the pooreſt, and worſt cultivated
" Countries in the Weſtern World.

But there are ſtriking inſtances of this important truth, that *Money is not Riches*, within our own experience. For, wherever Money is idly ſpent, the People are uniformly poor. Amidſt all the ſplendor and brilliant extravagance of Verſailles, how relatively poor were its Inhabitants to thoſe in commercial parts! Reflect alſo upon the Sovereign Reſidences in Ita-

ly: look to Vienna, and Berlin: examine the poverty in Dreſden where the Rich Saxon Elector holds his Court: What does the wealth of the Sovereign and Nobles of the two Electorates produce at Munich! Paſs to the reſidence of the Inferior Sovereigns, where ſplendor and diſſipation predominate, and mark the effects! The ſeat of all proſperous Manufactures, over the Univerſe, is removed from the haunt of Diſſipation.* Now paſs into Britain: and obſerve what immenſe ſums are ſpent weekly in dreſs, purſuits of pleaſure, prodigality, luxury of table, horſes, ſervants, gaming, &c, at Bath, by perhaps an average of 20, ooo Strangers, beſide Reſidents, in the Seaſon. And are the people of Bath rich? Has any Manufacture ſprung up there amidſt this ſplendid extravagance:— or what man would think of entering on ſuch †an undertaking? Yet Nature ſeems to have deſtined this as a ſeat for Manufacture: it has directed here a River in its courſe, whoſe banks are peculiarly adapted to the

*Before Diſſipation was ſo great or univerſal in Dublin, the Manufactures in that Quarter called the *Liberty* were extremely flouriſhing. But at this day what a ſcene does it preſent?

† On this principle the Citizens of London interfered againſt the Royalty Theatre being opened for Dramatic exhibitions. The whole town of Mancheſter ſome time ſince, had not a ſingle family within its walls, hat were not the children of Trade and occupation.

erection of Mills, whoſe ſtreams are never exhauſted, but form a communication with the ſecond trading Town in the Britiſh Empire. And if Riches could accelerate ſucceſs, here is money, and Votaries of pleaſure in crowds, to purchaſe the neceſſaries of vanity and oſtentation. But there is notwithſtanding no manufacture here, becauſe here no manufacture would proſper. Throughout all the Iſland, at all the places of pleaſurable reſort and diffipation, much money circulates but the Inhabitants remain poor.* "Indeed, even Ireland can "afford a Confirmation of this important "Truth. For wherever Money is idly ſpent, "as it always is in ſupporting Horſe-Races, "promoting Amuſements and Diverſions, "&c. &c. the People of ſuch Places are "always poor, on that Account, and "never can thrive effectually, till theſe "Temptations are removed out of their "Way."

"But ſtill it will be urged that during a "Parliament-Winter, great Sums are ſpent "in Dublin, by the Nobility and Gentry "of Ireland, which would have been car"ried out of the Kingdom, were the Par"liament removed.

* Compare the Wealth of the Inhabitants of Bath to hat of the Briſtol Merchants: yet Bath has had an infinitely longer run in its Trade of Diſſipation, than Briſtol in its commerce.

Granted: that a part but not the whole of this would be transferred. But if the whole were transferred, it would be the removal of a Detriment: for in as much as Diſſipation withers manufactures muſt grow up: and further, as the Union produces ſecurity and repoſe, commerce muſt extend; and conſequently its advantages infinitely counterbalance all apparent loſſes: they in reality would prove gains.

"Beſide great Sums were once expended in "Edinburgh, when the Court was kept, and "the Parliament held in that Metropolis "And what was the Conſequence?—Edin-"burgh was then a very poor Place; but is "now a great and wealthy City. Its Trade "and Commerce, Merchants and Manufactu-"rers are in a more thriving State than ever "they were during the Time it was made "the Seat of Government and Legiſlation. "Whereas now its Buildings are not only "more extended, but alſo are grand and "elegant. Therefore it may be fairly aſk-"ed, how is it that ſuch great alterations "have been brought to paſs? Plainly thus: "Edinburgh was poor, when devoted to "Pleaſures, Amuſements, and Diverſions, "(as Dublin is at preſent); but on the re-"moval of the Parliament, Edinburgh be-"came the Seat of Induſtry and Manu-"factures.

But ſay the Inhabitants of Dublin, in their ſhort-ſighted fears, the trade of the Metropolis will be ruined, for Commerce will transfer itſelf to the beſt Harbours; Cork, Derry, Galway, and Belfaſt, will thrive; whereas Dublin muſt decline. How weak is the too great Egotiſm of Mankind! This cannot poſſibly be the caſe; and ſuppoſe it were, that a great bulk of the Commerce flowed into thoſe Ports, ſtill Dublin muſt thrive and its Trade extend. Can the Capital, or head of a Nation droop and die, while the different Members of the Kingdom are increaſing the ſound ſources of civil life, and the whole body accumulating vigor? This dread is altogether abſurd. Dublin, being the Seat of the Treaſury and National Bank, muſt ever be the centre of Exchange, and being the centre of Exchange for univerſal Commerce, (which Commerce muſt, under repoſe and ſecurity, extend to an incalculable degree), conſequently and incontrovertibly Dublin muſt become the ſcene of a proportionate and increaſed Trade.

London is a proof of this. This Metropolis is the Seat of Exchange for her trading Towns with the commercial world. If money be due from Hamburgh to Mancheſter,

Granted: that a part but not the whole of this would be transferred. But if the whole were transferred, it would be the removal of a Detriment: for in as much as Diſſipation withers manufactures muſt grow up: and further, as the Union produces ſecurity and repoſe, commerce muſt extend; and conſequently its advantages infinitely counterbalance all apparent loſſes: they in reality would prove gains.

"Beſide great Sums were once expended in "Edinburgh, when the Court was kept, and "the Parliament held in that Metropolis "And what was the Conſequence?—Edin-"burgh was then a very poor Place; but is "now a great and wealthy City. Its Trade "and Commerce, Merchants and Manufactu-"rers are in a more thriving State than ever "they were during the Time it was made "the Seat of Government and Legiſlation. "Whereas now its Buildings are not only "more extended, but alſo are grand and "elegant. Therefore it may be fairly aſk-"ed, how is it that ſuch great alterations "have been brought to paſs? Plainly thus: "Edinburgh was poor, when devoted to "Pleaſures, Amuſements, and Diverſions, "(as Dublin is at preſent); but on the re-"moval of the Parliament, Edinburgh be-"came the Seat of Induſtry and Manu-"factures.

But ſay the Inhabitants of Dublin, in their ſhort-ſighted fears, the trade of the Metropolis will be ruined, for Commerce will transfer itſelf to the beſt Harbours; Cork, Derry, Galway, and Belfaſt, will thrive; whereas Dublin muſt decline. How weak is the too great Egotiſm of Mankind! This cannot poſſibly be the caſe; and ſuppoſe it were, that a great bulk of the Commerce flowed into thoſe Ports, ſtill Dublin muſt thrive and its Trade extend. Can the Capital, or head of a Nation droop and die, while the different Members of the Kingdom are increaſing the ſound ſources of civil life, and the whole body accumulating vigor? This dread is altogether abſurd. Dublin, being the Seat of the Treaſury and National Bank, muſt ever be the centre of Exchange, and being the centre of Exchange for univerſal Commerce, (which Commerce muſt, under repoſe and ſecurity, extend to an incalculable degree), conſequently and incontrovertibly Dublin muſt become the ſcene of a proportionate and increaſed Trade.

London is a proof of this. This Metropolis is the Seat of Exchange for her trading Towns with the commercial world. If money be due from Hamburgh to Mancheſter,

it is paid in London: if it be due from York to Exeter, it paſſes through the medium of a Bank in London. And the conſequence is before us in the extenſive trade of London. Beſide, a corroboration of this fact is found in the practice of Ireland itſelf. If orders go from England to Cork for proviſions to any amount, do the Graziers take bills upon the Commiſſary in England, whence the orders come, or upon a Bank in London? Certainly upon neither; they muſt have a bill upon Dublin. Therefore, it is obvious, that let the Commere of Ireland be extended in what manner it may, either in direction or in quantity, its influence muſt finally be felt, and be commenſurate in the Capital.

Moreover, a proof of the ill-founded fears in Dublin, as to its local loſſes in trade, ſuppoſing the Union to take place, appears in the fact of London, Briſtol, and Liverpool. For, how far ſuperior to theſe ports, are thoſe of Portſmouth, Plymouth, Milford-haven, &c. for commerce? Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe natural and extreme defects of London, Briſſtol, &c. they have not loſt their trade. And why? Becauſe when once an eſtabliſhment, vaſt in its combination, and extenſive in its parts, has taken root, it is difficult to remove it. Its relations

and its habitudes are its ſecurity. No ſituation can be worſe than that of London, as to every natural defect, for trade; but its artificial baſis has become too broad for its diſadvantages to overturn it. The inhabitants of Dublin therefore need not have ſuch fears for their loſs of trade. The Capital of a Commercial Nation is like the human heart, through which all the blood muſt flow: whether the nutrition, from which it has been formed, reſults from the operations of the hand, the head, or any other member. By whatever ports commerce enters into Ireland, Dublin muſt be the great ſeat of action. And what the difference is between the action of Commerce and the action of Diſſipation, may be ſeen in the vigorous animation on Ludgate Hill, compared to the Lounging in Bond-Street, and the Sauntering at Bath.

"Much hath been ſaid by certain Writers "in praiſe of an influx of Money into a Na- "tion, *merely as ſuch*; without conſidering "what Effect this Money hath upon the "Community, whether to make Men induſ- "trious, or to make them idle. And it muſt "be confeſſed, that Traders in general are ſo "narrow ſighted as ſcarcely to entertain any "other Idea of the *Goodneſs* of Trade, than

"as it may enable them to accumulate more "Gold and Silver than their Neighbours, and "with leſs Trouble. Then *that* Trade is a "good one. Now, were this the true Idea of "a good Trade, the Inhabitants of ancient "Rome had the beſt in the World: for their "Trade was to plunder all Nations and to "ſhare the Spoil among themſelves. Yet we "know from Hiſtory, that the Maſs of the "Roman People were poor and indigent in "an extreme Degree. For they were not able "to borrow Money for leſs than 12 per Cent. "per Annum: and they were not to be truſ-"ted, but from Month to Month. Many "other Examples of the Wretchedneſs and "Poverty of this brave and bluſtering, but "idle and extravagant People, might be "given.

"But waving all Inſtances from Antiqui-"ty, let us take a view of Things appertain-"ing to our own Times. The County of "Down, for inſtance, is allowed to be one of "the moſt induſtrious, and conſequently the "richeſt in all Ireland. Would you therefore, "in Order to augment its Wealth, to en-"creaſe its Induſtry, and to ſecure Tempe-"rance, Sobriety, and Frugality among its "Manufacturers;—would you, I ſay, think "it adviſeable to remove the Parliament

"from Dublin, and plant the Members of "both Houſes in Groups in the Manufactu-"ring parts of the County of Down? And "what would be the Effect of ſuch Planta-"tions?—The Application is obvious.

"Nevertheleſs, ſtrong and convincing as "theſe Reaſons for an Union are, I do not "depend on them for Succeſs in the preſent* "Caſe. For that Man muſt be very ignorant "of human Nature, who expects to ſubdue "deep rooted Prejudice, merely by the "Force of Reaſoning. *But there is a Tide in "human Affairs to which Prejudice itſelf muſt "yield, becauſe it cannot reſiſt it.*

At this moment if the good ſenſe of Ireland be not ſupreme, and all paſſion put down, ſhe may be loſt. It is an univerſal criſis of Men and Things. And no Man can ſay upon what centre or baſis they will repoſe. Amidſt this general concuſſion, and the particular ſhock of Ireland, where is her ſafety? Is it in her own Arms? Certainly not. "Non exercitus neque theſauri præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici. (Sal.) As to the Coloſſal power which tramples upon the Globe, the more it ſhakes it, the ſooner it will fall. Amidſt the concuſſions of this moment it trembles. The Party in Ireland which cries to it for protection, ſhould reflect! The other Party, in Ireland which cries to England for protection, ſhould alſo reflect! This moment is big with the fate of both.

* Written October 19th, 1785.

"The Americans and the Engliſh could not "agree about the very ſame Points, on "which the Iriſh and Engliſh now differ. "The Americans expected to enjoy all Pro- "tection, and every kind of Benefit, by their "Connexion with England, but abſolute- "ly refuſed to ſtipulate to bear any part "of the common Burden. For they declared "ſuch a Stipulation to be a ſurrender of their "*uualienable* Rights. The inevitable Con- "ſequence was either a ſeparation, or an U- "nion. Happily for England, an Union, on "Account of the Diſtance being impracti- "cable, a total Separation neceſſarily took "Place.

"Reſpecting Ireland, one or other of the "ſame Conſequences muſt inevitably follow. "For after Tropes and Figures have been let "off without Number, after Torrents of Elo- "quence have been poured forth, much Pa- "per blotted, and much Ink ſpilt, —RE- "COURSE MUST BE HAD AT LAST, EITHER TO "A SEPARATION,—OR TO AN UNION. "For plainly there is no *other Alternative*;' — "*no other Medium* to be diſcovered, or *Cement* "which can *laſt* for any length of Time.

"Probably in the firſt Onſet, and during "the Paroxyſm of the patriotic Fit,—a total "Separation may be reſolved upon, accord- "ing to the unalienable Doctrines of Locke

"and Molineux, Price and Prieſtly, and ac-
"cording to the Pattern ſet by the Americans.
"In which Caſe it will be the Wiſdom and
"the Intereſt of Great Britain to remain a
"Spectator as *unconcerned* as poſſible, by giv-
"ing theſe miſguided Zealots no manner of
"Diſturbance in the Proſecution of their wild
"Scheme, but letting them feel their own
"Inſignificance, by their ſmarting under the
"Laſh of their own Folly. This will much
"ſooner bring them to a juſt Way of think-
"ing, than any compulſive Meaſures what-
ever. For, after having made the Trial,
"they will gladly accept of thoſe Conditions
"and of ſuch an Union, as they had ſpurned
"at before with Contempt and Indignation.
"Therefore it is evident to any Man, who
"will reaſon cooly on the natural Courſe
"of human Affairs, that the ſhorteſt and moſt
"direct Road to an Union between Great
"Britain and Ireland, is firſt to let the hot-
"headed among the Iriſh Nation both ſee,
"and *feel* what they ſhall get, or rather what
"they muſt infallibly loſe by their *favorite*
"*Independence*, and the neceſſary Conſequence
"of it, — a SEPARATION.

Rather let Ireland ſoberly reflect, how Britain roſe, under the ſublime ſanction of her Government, through Commerce, from no-

thing into ſomething, and from ſomething, into greatneſs. For, ſhe who commands the Sea, commands the Commerce; ſhe who commands the Commerce, commands the Wealth, and ſhe who commands the Wealth of the World, muſt command the World itſelf. To an Union of this nature then Ireland is called. That or Separation is before her.

If Holland vanquiſhed Nature, though the four elements all corrupted warred againſt her, and roſe by Commerce to Opulence and Power, what then may Ireland expect into whoſe Lap Nature has poured a profuſion of her bleſſings? Give her but ſtability† and repoſe, under an Incorporative Union, and the dreams of Avarice will not outſtrip her Proſperity. What has the poor and barren Scotland done under the auſpices of an Union; and what ſhall not Ireland do, teeming with all the treaſures of the animal, vegetable and mineral* Kingdoms: with ſuch

† The Opulence of England will then promote the Commerce and Agriculture of Ireland.

* It is ſtated on the firſt authority that the mineral treaſures of Ireland are equal, if not beyond thoſe of any other Cuntry in Europe. If Security then be once eſtabliſhed, what may not the wealth of Engliſh Companies dig out of theſe mines? Were it not wiſe in the Univerſity of Dublin, to make mineralogy a part of their Syſtem of Education; that Gentlemen might know the value of their property, or Profeſſional Men be brought up to inquire into it?

Ports, Climates, Soil, Rivers, Harbours, and Poſition upon the Globe: with an active, ſtrong, and robuſt race of Men, quick in their perceptions and ſolid in their Combinations? Conſtituted as Europe now is, Power is manifeſtly in proportion to Wealth, and Wealth muſt ever be in proportion to Commerce. Ireland therefore poſſeſſes the means of Power to a degree that all the advantages of Nature can beſtow, or art may procure, if ſhe has Security and Peace. When theſe are eſtabliſhed by Incorporation with Britain, all the Seas of the Univerſe will be enriched by the Burdens of her Commerce, and her boſom be for ever cloſed againſt indigent Idleneſs, indigent Venality, indigent Avarice and Ambition, againſt Indigence and Rebellion.

Should it however be urged, that the value of Property in and about Dublin muſt be diminiſhed by the decreaſe of Population, or change of Trade to other Ports: firſt, we deny the Poſition, as unfounded: and next, if the ground of the Poſition were true, ſo much the better. But it is falſe on the clear views of Trade which have been given before. It is falſe becauſe the numbers which will be ſummoned† to attend the Britiſh Par-

†The number of Peers may be perhaps about 32.

liament will be comparatively inconſiderable to thoſe which will not be ſummoned. And it is falſe, becauſe, increaſed Commerce muſt give increaſed Wealth and Population, and conſequently increaſe the value of Land and Houſes about Dublin.

But, ſuppoſe that all this were not true, (and it were a ſuppoſition in the very teeth of truth,) but ſuppoſe, that part of the Commerce were to paſs to *Galway*, *Cork*, *Derry*, or *Belfaſt*. So much the better! Becauſe manufactures could be rendered more cheap, where there is leſs Luxury and leſs Population. This is the grand ſecret for ſucceſs, in commercial emulation: all the reſults of ſkill and capital are to produce cheapneſs, and enable the Manufacturer to underſell others, in foreign Markets. Again, it is ſo much the

There are at preſent 41 Iriſh Nobles, who are Peers in Britain: and there are about 81 Iriſh Peers, reſidents in Britain—conſequently as out of theſe, ſeveral, if not moſt perhaps of the 32 Peers may be choſen, where will be the great diminution of Reſident Peers in Ireland?—As to the Commons, the number may be about 100: now it is a well-known fact, that the leading Commoners of Ireland ſpend a certain portion of each year in England, and more than may be neceſſary for the attendance on Parliament. It will therefore be in reality but a change of ſeaſon as to the time of abſence, as it is preſumed that they will, like all other Country Gentlemen, be glad to get their releaſe and betake themſelves to their Demeſnes domeſtic ſcenes and Rural amuſements.

better, from the convenience for external Commerce. But on the contrary, ſuppoſe that there were not any of theſe advantages of cheapneſs and convenience to extend the ſcale of Commerce: and ſuppoſe further, that Trade thus transferred would not increaſe, (which is impoſſible,) ſtill after all theſe ſuppoſitions againſt reaſon and againſt experience, we ſay that it matters not to the *Nation* at large, whether it receives its treaſures with the right or left hand. Or rather indeed it is a matter of much importance, that it ſhould accumulate Opulence with two hands, rather than with one, and have the other withered. Dublin ſhould rejoice, if Ireland were to become a Briareus of Commerce.

Diffuſive happineſs, ariſing from general Induſtry and Wealth, is the greateſt bleſſing of a State. Let not Dublin then realize the fable of the war of the Members. An overgrown Head is the emblem of diſeaſe, and uſually forebodes death. The ſkilful Architect proportions his baſe to his capital. And no Statuary would weakly hope to ſupport the head of a Coloſſus upon the trunk of a Pigmy.

The views of ſound Policy and true Patriotiſm embrace the intereſt of an entire People, or a whole Empire; and reject falſe cal-

culations of individual or local advantage. But ſuppoſe that this maxim, which is an eternal truth, were falſe; and that the Inhabitants of the Capital were to be guided ſolely by ſelf Intereſt. Still in their purſuit of Riches, it is not amidſt the diſſipations of the Great, nor amidſt the idleneſs and corruption of their trains during Parliament, that they will find them. It is amidſt flax and wool and work-ſhops. "To increaſe the Riches of a Kingdom" ſaid the celebrated Colbert, on a conſultation relative to commerce, "we muſt find out "manufactures to give employment to the "poor, and work to the idle. Flax, ſilk, and "wool are our objects." Through the medium of ſuch wealth, luxury will not breathe its corrupt influence on the Capital: inſtead of riot there will be decency, order, and opulence; inſtead of ſhops there will be warehouſes. Diſſipation and immoral extravagance may, like whirlwinds, riſle one place to raiſe up heaps in another: but riches thus rapidly collected, are as rapidly diſſipated. Riches are, in truth, a moral poiſon; yet like natural poiſons, which after paſſing through certain operations become not only medicine but wholeſome food, ſo do they become the ſupport of ſociety. And beſide, if from gold, luxurious vices origi-

nate; from poverty, crimes are produced. But the ſpecific againſt both is honeſt induſtry.

To this teſt let all the oppoſition of the Capital be brought, and the Inhabitants will ſoon perceive, that if their Parliament Houſe could be converted into the Seat of a New Manufacture, or ſhould it be transformed into a Woolen Hall like that of Leeds, the change would be advantageous and beneficial both to themſelves, and the Nation at large.

It is Commerce that has freed Kings from Slavery and people from oppreſſion. If therefore the grounds of complaint, ſo ſtrongly urged by the Aſſociation of united Iriſhmen, have, (which we do not admit) real exiſtence, Commerce is an infallible remedy. And if they have not exiſtence, Commerce is the ſource of glory, ſplendor, opulence, and happineſs. For the acquiſition of all which; Incorporation is the Charter.

But will any of thoſe advantages be enjoyed without Incorporation? Separation follows, according to the authority of Dean Tucker; and according to arguments and conſiderations which will appear in their proper place. Since then one of thoſe two events muſt reſult, we ſhall lay before men

no uncertain *Data* in the Documents of Commerce, whereby they may calculate what they have to hope from British Connexion and Incorporation, and what they are to fear in its loss.

IRISH COMMERCE DURING THE LAST CENTURY, FROM 1698 TO 1798.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1698 her balance of Commerce amounted to	400,220	0	0
In 1703, unable to support her Civil Establishment, the Commons laid her "*deplorable state*" before the Queen	———		
From 1768 to 1779 the average balance	600,000	0	0
In 1779 *as in the year* 1703 (see Woodfall's Report of Mr. Burgh's speech in the Irish House of Commons, August 12, 1785).	———		
In 1785 Exports to Britain 2,500,000			
Imports from ditto 1,000,000			
Balance	1,500,000	0	0

[Here it should be remarked that these Irish Exports were admitted *duty free* into Britain: and that on every article of British import, a revenue was raised in Ireland. The consumption of Irish Linens at this period was only 20 millions of yards, (it is *now* about 52), and to favour this, Britain taxed herself annually 450,000l. she laid an heavy duty on Russian and

German linens, and paid an advance price for the Irish ones. The consequence is before us in the immense increase of the Linen trade at this day. But her influence over the Linen trade may be ascertained from another fact of the same date, not less convincing, though alarming. In 1750 Ireland exported more sail cloth than she imported: but at that period Britain commenced a bounty on the export of their own sail cloth. The consequence was the total ruin of that manufacture. For in 1784 *none* was *exported* from Ireland, *and* 180,000 *yards annually imported.*]

	£.	s.	d.
In 1795 Irish Imports into *one* Port, viz. London,	2,209,501	3	4
British Manufactures from Ireland to -	168,687	18	4
Balance from only one Port in favor of Ireland -	2,040,813	5	0

In the year 1785 Irish linens brought in two millions annually to that country: but we perceive from the last statement, that the balance from one single port exceeded this amount by 40,813l. But we shall further see how through English Ports, extensive capitals, and dealings, the linens have found their way to foreign places to an immense amount: and so must it be with other fa-

brics. Such is the foſtering hand and participation of Britiſh commerce! From the following ſtatement laid before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, and which ſhews the proſperity of the linen trade, an important leſſon may be learned by Ireland.

Iriſh Linens *exported* from England, in three quarters to Oct. 10, 1797,		157,681	16 0
Ditto in three quarters, to Oct. 1798,		276,929	15 6
Increaſe in three quarters, and *during the rebellion*	£.	119,247	19 6
If we may calculate a fourth quarter on this ratio in order to make up a *year's increaſe* -		29,811	19 10½
Total of *one year's* increaſe during the Rebellion	£.	149,059	19 4½

It appears alſo that a *century ſince* (1698) her balance of commerce with the WHOLE WORLD was *leſs* than *one fifth* what it now is with *one Port* in Britain: and that thirty years ſince, her ballance of Commerce with the *whole world* was about *one fourth* of what it now is with a *ſingle* Port in Britain. The application of thoſe facts to the *advantages* of Britiſh Commerce, to be increaſed through Incorporation or loſt through Separation, are obvious. Beſides, we ſhould conſider that England

ſupplies * Ireland with ſalt, for fiſheries and proviſions: hops, that ſhe cannot grow: tin, that ſhe has not: bark that ſhe cannot procure elſewhere: coals, without duty; though her own ſubjects pay two, three, and four ſhillings a chaldron duty for coals ſent coaſtways, and in London, ſeven ſhillings.

In the eſtabliſhment of all manufactures, and to which we look through the ſecurity of Incorporation, there are two leading objects. The firſt is, cheapneſs as to proviſion and labour, and that is in Ireland: the next is a near, ſure, and extenſive market, and this is in England. Conſequently, with a good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper food, and lower labour, the ſkill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland, in order to ſell to England: and with ſuperior ſituation, and Ports for Commerce, the ſkill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland to ſell to, and underſel all the world.

Under Incorporation commercial jealouſy muſt ſubſide, and each country forgetting rivalſhip, enjoy its own natural and artificial

* See Woodfall's Debate, Auguſt 12, 1785, in the Commons of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer's ſpeech.

advantages, for their reſpective and united benefits. One nation will purſue that manufacture which it can fabricate with moſt profit; and buy from the other what it can render better and cheaper. The communication between their reſpective markets will be encouraged by a mutual preference; and conſolidated and united they will ſoon outrival all the ſtrangers of the univerſe.

Commercial jealouſy has been too long irritating both countries. It has been increaſed, and political jealouſy has been roufed by two Independent Legiſlatures. If the powers of the two nations, thus connected, yet jealous, be ſeparately employed for commercial and civil aggrandiſement, is it poſſible that their political union muſt not be ſhocked? Separation of intereſt muſt inevitably occaſion ſeparation of connexion. Has it not nearly produced it at this day?

If we view for a moment the hiſtory of ſtates, we may ſafely ſay, on the analogy of facts, that Ireland muſt, in the wildeſt ſcheme of Republican freedom, ever be a connected ſtate. The plan of rebellious ſeparations demonſtrates this truth: for it looked to connection with France. But nothing ſave human phrenzy, could have conceived or ſupported this extravagant

purpoſe. Let the ſituation of Ireland internal and external be examined: where is there more civil Freedom? Where can men have ſuch advantages as to commerce and protection? For, protection and powerful protection ſhe muſt have with ſuch internal weakneſs and ſuch a line of coaſt. Where then ſuch advantages, as to protection and commerce? Beſides, no country on the globe would connect with Ireland, but on terms of benefit, contribution and conceſſion. What nation upon earth then would give, or could give ſuch protection or ſuch terms, as Britain? Let the map of the world be examined: Let the power of each empire be balanced: Let the intereſts of each ſtate be ſifted: Let the politics of all Europe be conſidered: and then let it be ſaid, if the *Commerce*, the *Conſtitution*, the *Religions* of Ireland could or can owe their ſafety, but to Britiſh connexion alone? That connexion indeed is an axiom in politics ſo ſelf evident, that it is the fixed principle of the wiſe man, and the canting pretence of the cunning knave. But that connexion will not, cannot ſubſiſt with radical principles of ſeparation. For, the truth cannot be too often repeated, where there is *ſeparation* of *intereſt*, *ſeparation* of *connexion* muſt follow. Whereas, by Incorporation, Security, Freedom, Opulence,

and Power are offered: far better than French Republics, or Utopian Directories.

But it may be aſked, why does Britain offer Incorporation, and ſuch participation of benefits—*timeo Danaos dona ferentes?* Moſt truly, on the principle of ſelf-intereſt; liberality is the wiſe man's egotiſm. The ſelf-intereſt of Britain is, at this day, underſtood to be inſeparable from the intereſt of Ireland: her ſtrength is Britain's ſtrength; her greatneſs Britain's glory. She offers Incorporation, becauſe ſhe is ſenſible of the advantage of the connexion. She is anxious to give ſecurity to Ireland, becauſe ſhe is thus giving * ſecurity to herſelf; becauſe Ireland ſupports her § navigation; ſupplies her commerce with raw materials in linen-yarn, woollen-yarn and hides; becauſe it gives her proviſions, money, † men, ‡ and importance in the conſideration of Foreigh Powers; be-

* Had Britain an enemy in Ireland and were ſhe thus Situated between two hoſtile lines Eaſt and Weſt, what an extent of Coaſt would ſhe have to guard againſt on both ſides and to protect at home? How would her Commerce be endangered and hemmed in on every point? How would ſhe be expoſed to Invaſion? The paſſage from Ireland requires but boats and a ſhort ſpace of time.

§ The trade between Great Britain and Ireland, employs, as we have heard about half the tonnage of Engliſh commerce in Europe.

becauſe it is for Britain, beyond the rampart of her rocks and the deep moat of the ocean, a citadel that ſhe can ſurround with her invincible walls.

Theſe are the important reaſons why ſhe would emboſom her in her bleſſings. Will Ireland then embrace them and unite, or will ſhe ſeparate?

Separated Ireland muſt be at war or peace with Britain. Firſt: if ſhe be at war, and a tool in the hands of the enemies of Britain, the conſequence may be death to Britain if ſhe does not ſubdue Ireland. And if ſhe does ſubdue her: the doctrine of prevention, againſt a caſe recuring ſo awful in its effects, may enforce the total deſtruction of Ireland.

But next ſuppoſe Ireland not at war with England: then according to thoſe imperious dictates, which Policy muſt preſcribe for

† Beſides victualling the Navy, &c. Ireland is become a granary for England. It contains about ſeventeen million acres, which, though inferior in tillage, are ſuperior in nature to the lands in England. For, even in this ſtate, when they would require about 80 millions (or 5l. per acre) to bring them to the ſame degree of cultivation as thoſe in England, Mr. A. Young eſtimates their acreable rental to be equal. We have before ſaid that we believe this eſtimate to be under the reality; however, it gives twelve million 750 thouſand pounds per annum.

‡ The population of Ireland is not ſo high as ſtated in the late examination before the Parliament in that country. This was but an opinion; whereas, it appears from the Hearth money books, that it is beneath five millions, but above four; perhaps it may be midway between both.

Britain, and according to the principle of the Balance of Power, Ireland muſt not throw herſelf into the ſcale of France. If it does, war is declared: and the reſults follow, which have been already ſtated.

But ſuppoſe that theſe reſults were not to follow: would the caſe of Ireland, united with France be improved? It would then indeed wear chains. And though embelliſhed with a falſe name, would they be the lighter? If it looks for freedom in French fraternity, it is to be fooliſh beyond the privilege of paſſion. But if arguments, if facts, that the power of controverſy can not change, may add weight to opinion, hear the French themſelves: judge them both by their words and actions.*

Suppoſe however that French fraternity were a kind embrace, and not a preſſure incompatible with exiſtence in wealth or independence—the ſuppoſition is however abſurd—but what would be the reſult? †"France would be rendered both the weaker and the poorer, by thus acquiring an Iſland ſo difficult to be governed and ſo very expenſive to be maintained." Conſequently though Ireland began in peace, ſhe would

* See Enumeration of the Contributions, Confiſcations, and Requiſitions of the French Nation, with an Account of the Countries Revolutionized ſince the Commencement of the preſent War."

† Dean Tucker.

be forced into war; though ſhe began in liberty ſhe would be forced into ſlavery: though ſhe began in dreams of wealth, ſhe would die in the pangs of poverty, blood, and Civil abjection.

Again: ſuppoſe Ireland not at war but at peace with England, and in amity with France, or a Province of France, which ever is moſt pleaſing: even in this caſe, though Britain and Ireland be ſeparated, "† the courſe of trade will be ruled by Intereſt and by no other motive. Therefore ſo long as the Engliſh Market will be the moſt eligible, ſo long the Iriſh will give Great Britain the preference to other Countries." And conſequently Britain will be ſure of the trade without the expence of protection.

But further; ſuppoſe the Engliſh were to reject them from their Market—what then becomes of Ireland? Will America take all her linens? How blind are men who view objects through the medium of enthuſiaſm and paſſion! This however is at leaſt a period for common prudence and common experience to teach mankind. But will Ireland trade to France when driven out from England? "† It is impoſſible for her to trade with her to any advantage. For, ſhe muſt be a loſer in almoſt every article. She can ſend none of her manufactures into

† Dean Tucker.

France, becauſe they are rendered much cheaper in that Country. And ſhe can import nothing from thence, but what has a tendency to make her people idle inſtead of induſtrious."

Thus then ſtands the caſe of Ireland: on the deciſion of which the exiſtence of that ſtate depends, and in which the repoſe and ſecurity of the Britiſh Empire are deeply involved.

From this point Ireland is to aſcend or deſcend. Some Change muſt, and will take place: and though it be not immediate, total Separation will inevitably enſue, if a real Union, or Incorporation of the Parliaments be not adopted. But by this meaſure will the Conſtitution be altered? No! All the eſſential good will be thus retained, and the contingent evil, which has been ſo loudly murmured againſt, got rid of. The complaints of one party againſt Faction and its conſequences muſt ceaſe: and the complaints of the other againſt ſubverſion of the Conſtitution can be heard no more. The object is not to apply temporary palliatives to the one, nor to roughly amputate the newly acquired powers of the other. Far otherwiſe! The union proceeds upon radical principles, that its operation may be perpetual againſt diſorder. The preſent Con-

flict has coſt His Majeſty 10 Million of Money and 40, 000 Subjects in Ireland. Muſt not every Man be protected againſt his ſhare in ſuch calamities: the high and eminent and the low and humble? Should not both Religions be ſnatched from a Revolutionary Death? Muſt not all property be ſaved from Republican rapacity? And ſince we have but one Conſtitution and one King, ſhould we not have but one Senate, one Sword, one purſe, one proſperity, ſhould we not form one United and Imperial Britain?

Thus all parties will ſtand under a greater ſcale of protecting vigilance; and the abilities and virtues of none ſtunted by the abſence of the Court. But while the Viceroy remains for all the wiſe celerity and diſpatch of Executive Government, the proportions of power, and the ſelection of merit, and the juſt pretenſions of all, will be fixed upon a broader and ſecurer baſis—the ſolid claims of virtue and of talents.

The Fourth Objection is,—*That an Incorporative union tends ultimately to Separation.*

This aſſertion we deny. For, if the cauſes of ſeparation, that is, if the elements of diſcord be diſſolved, all combinations for this purpoſe will ceaſe. And, that grounds of ſolid conciliation are contained in the meaſure of incor-

* The eight following pages bear the ſame numbers as the eight preceding.

poration, we doubt not that the conflicting parties of this moment will find, upon diſpaſſionate deliberation.

The one body of men conſiſts of thoſe who founded their purpoſes of ſeparation upon the *wrongs of Parliamentary Factions*; we take their own ſtatements in order to convince them upon the ſame point of ſtrength, in which they have been pleaſed to place their motives. The other party conſiſts of thoſe men, who, rouſed at the meditated *ſubverſion of Government*, have been victorious in its preſervation.

Since, therefore, *Parliamentary* Factions on one ſide, and annihilation of the Conſtitution on the other, form the grounds of complaint, a competent and ſpecific remedy for both will be found in the Incorporative Union. It is the vehicle of diſſolution for all the cauſes of ſeparation ſo loudly urged by the one; and conſequently for all the effects ſo juſtly dreaded by the other: to the one, it will give (inſtead of a Party-government, or the rule of a Miniſterial Cabinet, as they ſtate it) the unparalleled bleſſings of a Britiſh Government; and, to the other, perfect ſecurity for the ſtability of this unequalled Government.—The Catholic will no longer have an ambitious and neighbouring zealot, as he calls the Iriſh Proteſtant, who is to rule over him; nor the Proteſtant have a bigotted and

envious Catholic, as he terms him, to endanger his property or his power. But both ſects will be unalterably ſecure againſt each other in the very ſource and origin of their complaints.

The ſecurity of the Catholic is obvious in the total removal of the cauſes: and the Proteſtant may fully perceive his ſecurity in the effects, when rebellion can have neither beginning nor end: that is, when the Parliament, whether *complained* of as the *inſtrument*, or *viewed* as the *object* of ambition, be incorporated with the Britiſh Legiſlature. But, ſhould it ſtill be aſked, how will this incorporation of Parliament give more ſecurity than at preſent againſt thoſe who really plot for *ſeparation*, and whoſe complaints are but a maſk?—The anſwer is, that, when this Parliament is ſecured to one, and cannot injure the other by incorporation, then the *Empire* will decidedly protect itſelf againſt any branch or body, that ſhould riſe to violate the unqueſtionable bleſſings of its conſtitution. Then, indeed, all complaints muſt be utterly vain; becauſe no juſt cauſe for them can ſubſiſt, and becauſe this will be known to the empire at large; whereas, at preſent, the knowledge with reſpect to Ireland is really little, and that little much obſcured. It is but the loud burſt of exploſion, which is heard at diſtance,

but of which the cauſe cannot be ſeen nor examined.

But, ſuppoſe unfounded complaints ſhould ariſe, and arm for ſeparation, what would be the reſult?—The reply to this queſtion may alſo quiet the apprehenſion of ſome men, who ſtate that the Catholics do not now deſire legiſlative privilege; that, on the contrary, it ſerves them as a blind camp, which occupies attention while they ſeek ſucceſs in another quarter, in phyſical not legiſlative power. Let this be admitted: and the anſwer is, that, ſo long as the two nations are in reality ſeparated, (though nominally and apparently united,) inſtead of being incorporated in ſuch a manner that no part can be influenced without the other, ſo long their intereſts are evidently not the ſame, and their miſchiefs cannot be equally and mutually felt. But if really incorporated, they then conſtitute one and the ſame point; they are then indiviſible in their dangers, and muſt riſe or fall together.—And herein is contained the ſtability of the Iriſh Conſtitution. The numbers to preſerve theſe bleſſings to themſelves will be as fourteen to three;—the numbers to deſtroy them are now three againſt one. Conſequently, it muſt appear from hence, that as by phyſical force ſecurity is eſtabliſhed—that as by the force of intereſt it is no leſs firmly eſtabliſhed; therefore, upon

thoſe two principal and great grounds of force and intereſt, no ſeparation can follow.

Moreover—the Proteſtants, in general, ſtate (notwithſtanding the contrary opinion on the part of others as to the change of political tactics) that the addreſs of the Catholics not only *was* to get poſſeſſion of the Parliament—"for then, ſay they, equality of power and ſuperiority of numbers would have rendered them paramount"—but they ſtate, that this plea is *ſtill* perſevered in. Be it granted, then:—and what follows?—that the object of this ſcheme, if it be ſeparation, periſhes at the moment of Incorporation.

But, ſuppoſe that Incorporation ſhould not take place, and that the Catholics ſeek parliamentary power; their object either is, or is not ſeparation. If it be not ſeparation: is it a matter of much moment to the Government whether Catholics get into the Iriſh Parliament or not? If it be ſeparation: why, then, not terminate it by Incorporation? But, whether it be ſeparation, or otherwiſe; the Catholics either will or will not get into Parliament. So long as they do not, the legiſlative privilege will be ſought with more avidity and more diſcord, the more it is refuſed. And if it be gained, let thoſe, who reſiſt incorporation, pauſe upon their fears.

Further: let it be conſidered, that, if Incorporation takes place, and the Iriſh Catholics were to requeſt admiſſion into the Britiſh Parliament, one of two events muſt follow—either the requeſt would or would not be acceded to. But in both caſes, the fears of the Iriſh Proteſtants muſt ceaſe. For if the national voice, or the feelings of a Britiſh Parliament, were to ſilence the demand, the Proteſtants of Ireland could conſequently have nothing to dread. Or—if, on the contrary, the Britiſh Conſtitution were not found too ſtrong; and if ſuch an act were not an annihilation of its charters, but the Catholics were to be admitted into its Parliament; certainly, the Iriſh Proteſtant could not poſſibly have any objection: becauſe the inferior number of the Catholics, in ſuch an united Parliament, and the identity of conſtitution in both countries, would form the protection of Ireland, as well as of Britain; and becauſe the former could not be injured without the latter. Hence, therefore all idea of ſeparation vaniſhes.

Thus the one party, finding by Incorporation, ſecurity againſt the phyſical force or civil infringements of the other; and the other party finding, by Incorporation, like ſecurity againſt all factious oppreſſion, in whatever ſenſe or ſtrength they have thought proper to place

it: we may, therefore, without charge of fancy, ſound the dirge of *Separation—requies ea certa laborum!* All parties will hence enjoy repoſe under ſecurity: and unqueſtionably this ſecurity and repoſe will throw open the improved commerce of the *univerſe*. Herein, then, periſh all thoughts of ſeparation; and the Conſtitution muſt live. Amidſt the golden glory of virtuous and active commerce, men will contemplate bleſſings beyond the dreams of fancied power, and liberty beyond the flights of Republicaniſm. Imperial ſtrength will then be found paramount to all parties in the ſtate,—paramount to all enemies over the globe. It is under ſuch important advantages of Incorporation, that men will become attached to the Government and to the State: they will feel that they have a country; their firſt idea will be, ſecurity and imperial ſtrength; their ſecond, proſperity and national peace. And thus, the different members coaleſcing into the amity of brethren—Will they exhibit a group tending ultimately to ſeparation?

Far otherwiſe: but this great effect, ſo directly contrary to ſeparation, cannot be brought about without an incorporative union. And were it produced otherwiſe, which is utterly impoſſible under the exiſting circumſtances of Ireland, it would be unſtable and inſecure.

Civil miſery and ſeparation muſt follow. Let us ſift this point.

As nearly as moral deductions can approach demonſtrative proof, we believe it may have appeared that the jarring conflicts of parties will ceaſe under incorporation. Whereas, it is manifeſt *already*, that without this Incorporation, the claims and diſcords of party ariſe with *new* vigor, and upon *new* grounds; and that conſequently tumultuary ſcenes menace an increaſe. Such then are the obvious effects of incorporation, and non-incorporation. Let us however, in order effectually to convince men that union does not tend ultimately to ſeparation, but that the very reverſe of this propoſition is the caſe, give them the ſtrongeſt ground of argument, whereon they could combat, and ſtill they will be defeated.

Suppoſe therefore, that all theſe inteſtine ſtruggles and tumultuary commotions were to ſubſide, and that happineſs and virtue were to bleſs all ranks and conditions of men: that the upper and the lower orders had eſtabliſhed by wiſe regulations a civil ſyſtem cementing them in love and friendſhip; and that Catholics, and Proteſtants, and Diſſenters, all lived in the endearing amity of brethren.—A more complete ſyſtem of civil happineſs, we believe no man will require. But the queſtion, which follows

this, is firſt, how long will it laſt? And next, if ſeparation were to enſue, may not ſeparated Ireland, thus eſtabliſhed upon a baſis of civil happineſs and moral virtue, laſt and enjoy herſelf long?

To anſwer theſe queſtions, we ſhall recur to experience and facts: for, opinions may be vague or reſiſted, however ſolid and concluſive.

Both antient and modern times furniſh us with examples, that ſmall ſtates have not ſufficient force to inſure them *long life*. It was the caſe in Greece; it is the caſe in Switzerland, was in Genoa, and will probably be in all the New Republics. Societies, being compoſed of men, have the vices of men. Nations therefore are capable of ambition, hatred and jealouſy; and where there are ſeeds for thoſe paſſions in ſeparate intereſts and purſuits, diviſion is manifeſt, and no NOMINAL UNION CAN HOLD OR LAST LONG. This being the caſe, and Ireland being ſeparated, its ſyſtem of complete happineſs, which we have ſuppoſed, would inſtantly be diſturbed; firſt, by the internal rivalry of individuals; and next by the external ambition of ſurrounding nations? The parties of Holland would ſoon be revived in Ireland, and contending nations make this *ſeparated happy* ſpot a ſcene of civil tumult, and perſonal animoſity? What a ſource of hatred

would ſeparation open for Britain? What a ſource of war with France? What a ſcene of blood for Ireland? What a gulph of jealouſy would commerce form? And in this detached ſtate of Ireland, even thoſe *happy* individuals would ſoon, through their paſſions, enable the neighbouring power to profit of their diviſions, and make one ſwallow up the other. Or one of the great neighbouring powers of ſuch a ſtate, favoured by its ſtrength, or ſanctioned by its circumſtances, would mark it for an object of conqueſt, and terminate its hatred, its jealouſy, or ambition, in its ruin.

The monuments of hiſtory have preſerved for us the memory of thoſe times, when all Europe, Italy, the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, were ſubdivided into a crowd of ſmall ſtates: we know how they finiſhed. England too was portioned out into ſmall ſtates, Ireland into petty monarchies: but they have all ſubmitted to one. Should it however be anſwered that Venice, and other ſmall ſtates: have maintained themſelves long in Europe; the reply is, that it was not the reſult of their own power, but of the policy and intereſt of their neighbours. And that very principle, which formed their preſervation, would form the deſtruction of Ireland. The power, policy, and intereſt of other nations would make

it the ſeat of war and ſcene of conqueſt, or the ſeat of amity by mutual abandonment, and guaranteed inſignificance. Such is the reſult of ſeparation; which is the reſult of non-incorporation.

On theſe grounds therefore, an incorporative union appears a meaſure of preſervation from without and within; and a meaſure not only of aggrandiſement and elevation to the ſtate, but of repoſe and ſtrength to the empire. It has not for its object a conqueſt of parties, but a balance of parties; to unite, and not to divide; to govern England by an Iriſh Parliament, and Ireland by an Engliſh Parliament, in ſo much as each will be governed by the united wiſdom of both. All acts will then be the reſult of the concurrence of the Empire: no miſdeeds can then poſſibly find ſecurity in the intrigues of little party: nor no miſrule be then founded either by calumny or by truth upon the Parliamentary influence of factions in a ſingle ſtate.

Ireland will no longer have to complain of Viceroys influencing Parliaments, or Parliaments influencing Viceroys. But, that country will have a King and a Parliament, as has been demanded by the voice of diſcontent, which ſought for ſeparation.

And here a new and important conſideration opens before us. If any Government, as it has

been advanced on the rebellious ſide, poſſeſſes or admits of faculties ſufficient to provoke ſeparation; but does not poſſeſs, as it has been ſtated on the oppoſite ſide, ſufficient to root religion rapidly out; ſuch a Government, every man muſt allow, is poſitively bad. But it is relatively worſe, if a better can be eſtabliſhed. The Government thus complained of by the conflicting parties in Ireland, [for we reaſon upon their complaints in order to inveſtigate, and lay before them, the remedy] is an executive Viceroy with a Legiſlative Parliament. And againſt the influence of which, operating reciprocally as cauſe and effect, the loudeſt murmurs have gone forth, and been ſwelled with every aggravation for the cauſe of ſeparation. What then muſt follow?

This Government conſiſts of two parts: to which of theſe two is a remedy to be applied? Is it to the Viceroy? On account of the natural ſeparation of the two kingdoms, the Executive Government in England cannot immediately diſcharge its functions in Ireland. Theſe operations muſt therefore be deputed to ſecond means. The ſyſtem of Lords Juſtices has been already tried for this purpoſe, and was found highly pernicious. The ſyſtem of Viceroys has been tried, and is found leſs pernicious. But ſtill there is a bane in Viceroyal Government

which, not only according to ſeparatiſts, but others, has been Parliamentary influence.—— The Executive power, however, muſt exiſt in the Viceroy, and the Legiſlative one muſt exiſt in the Parliament; and therefore ſince neither muſt be deſtroyed, what is to be done? There is manifeſtly no medium left, in order to ſilence all thoſe complaints, but to diſſolve the contact and conſequently the reciprocal operation of this influence, by incorporating the Iriſh with the Britiſh Legiſlature. And thus according to the circumſtances and conſtitution of the two countries, all the good of the viceregal Executive is conſiderably ameliorated, and all the murmured at evil of Parliamentary influence wiſely removed from the organ of ſeparation.

Prejudice alone can be blind to conviction upon the advantage, as well as the neceſſity of this incorporation. For the whole matter reſolves itſelf into a queſtion of one ſimple point that every reaſonable man can anſwer. Is it better to have a Viceroy in contact with Parliament as *heretofore* in Ireland, or to have the Monarch co-operating with a Parliament, as at preſent in Britain? Upon this queſtion we believe no man can entertain a doubt. And ſhould it even be aſked, may not Parliamentary influence operate from Britain? The beſt anſwer is; contemplate its effects in Britain; examine her exalted ſitua-

tion; and then let us weep over the deplorable condition of Ireland.

It appears throughout the hiſtory of paſt ages, that the civil, religious, and political ſtate of that iſland have been peculiar beyond example. It appears throughout the exiſting evidence of facts, that the diſcord of internal intereſts, and the jarrings of external policy have been by no means harmoniſed. Rebellion and a deſire of ſeparation have been uniformly and throughout time a prominent feature, under Viceroyalty in contact with Parliaments. We do not however attribute this to the Government: the diſeaſe is not of the phyſician's creation, but its continuance may argue incapacity. Beſides, it appears that this contact and its conſequences have furniſhed murmurs and pleas for ſeparation. Is it not reaſonable then to ſuppoſe, that a diſſolution of the cauſes will be followed by a diſſolution of the effects; rather than ſeparation ſhould enſue with more certainty, the leſs the cauſes for it ſubſiſt?

Whether the complaints of parties in Ireland be true or falſe, there are arguments as clear as exiſtence itſelf, that Ireland ſhould deſire incorporation: that ſhe ſhould gladly embrace the ſame Legiſlative Government as England, and prefer its *King*, Lords, and Commons, to

a Viceroy, Lords, and Commons. Facts are ſolid and irreſiſtible proofs. Britain offers them in the abundance of its glory, opulence, and proſperity, in favour of Incorporation; Ireland in the hiſtory of its poverty, complaints, and rebellions.

The reaſons are numerous, and undeniable for Ireland's placing herſelf under the *immediate* vigilance of her Sovereign and Parliament, rather than remaining as heretofore under a Viceroy. The poſition of a Viceroy in contact with Parliament differs widely from that of his Sovereign: Becauſe, with reſpect to Parliament, the Monarch is above all party; becauſe, with reſpect to intereſt, the Viceregent has no hereditary intereſt, inſeparable from the proſperity of the ſtate: becauſe with reſpect to the ſtates, there muſt ever be under the exiſting ſyſtem a ſpecies of rivalry ſubſiſting between the country which he is ſent to govern, and the one from which he may be choſen, and wherein all his intereſts lie. Whereas both are equal to the Sovereign: his intereſt ariſes from both; and his high honours and emoluments are perſonal, permanent, and entailed upon his poſterity. Conſequently, with this view, he will watch Parliamentary influence, and find his own intereſt, and that of his deſcendants inſeparably linked with the intereſt of each ſtate. Hoſts of argu-

ments might be produced upon this head, were it neceſſary: and all tending to ſhow that when Incorporation places Ireland under ſuch vigilance, there cannot be much dread of ſeparation.

It may alſo be briefly remarked, that in all Governments whatever, where Legiſlative influence is connected with temporary executive authority, the effects are pernicious. In confirmation of this, let the Eccleſiaſtical Governments of Europe be conſidered for a moment: where the chief has infinitely greater intereſts at ſtake on the well doing of the country, than a deputed ruler can poſſibly have in a Viceroyalty. Yet the influence of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Governments marks itſelf for the travellers eye in the wretched face of the country, the neglect of agriculture, and the poverty of the ſubjects. And whence all this? Evidently becauſe the ruler's intereſt is too little, while the action and reaction of *Influence*, between his *Councils* chambers and himſelf, are too great. His reign however, cloſes but with his exiſtence. But were it limited to four or five years inſtead of being permanent for life, or rather were its duration dependant on the will of another, then with the rapidity of ſucceſſion the miſchiefs of *Influence* would increaſe. Since therefore, even this Eccleſiaſtical Government has advantages

above Viceroyalty connected with Parliamentary Influence; for, the Eccleſiaſtical Ruler muſt, by any immoral exerciſe of his power, defile the ſacred character of his own ſovereignty; whereas the Viceroy, under the action and reaction of Parliamentary influence, plays with the awful dignity of another's ſceptre; were it not better for the nation, to be placed under the perſonal vigilance of its Hereditary Monarch immediately co-operating with its Parliament? Were not ſuch a Governmental ſyſtem far preferable to the one heretofore in uſe, and leſs liable to cauſe a ſeparation between the great Members of the Empire?

Surely, ſince it appears, through the experience of ages, that Parliament cannot exiſt in Ireland, without this influence operating under Vice-royal government: and ſince it appears, that murmurs upon this head have been long and loud; and that in thoſe days it has been the war whoop for rebellion; and has armed Separatiſts to drench the land with blood: ſurely then, if ſuch miſchiefs can be barred for ever, not only with ſafety but with ſupreme advantage: it were ſomething worſe than folly, it were a ſhameful ſtupidity to the ſufferings of ſociety, and to the future glory of men and things, if they be ſacrificed to vain pride or idle prejudice.

There are other motives, no leſs cogent for the adoption of this meaſure, in order to guard againſt ſeparation.—The councils of Ireland either originate or are decided in the Britiſh Cabinet. So long as the two kingdoms remain ſeperated, as they are at preſent, their intereſts certainly are not identically the ſame. What then muſt be the conſequence? Partialities or neglects muſt inevitably appear toward one or the other country, notwithſtanding the wiſeſt deliberations and moſt upright intentions. The plans, therefore, participating of thoſe, are to be ſubmitted for the ſanction of parliament, by a viceroy enjoying all the patronage of the Crown. What then muſt be the reſult? Either the plan does or does not ſucceed: but, in both caſes, influence is exerted. If it ſucceeds, all is anger and animoſity on one ſide, and the old horn of ſeperation may be blown again. If it does not ſucceed, while the Government is defeated, it is diſgraced, if not endangered: for amidſt the triumph at the oppoſite ſide, ſeparation may not be far from diſcontent at the attempt. Whereas, if the kingdoms be incorporated, all this rivalry, this partiality, this influence generating party in the Nation, all theſe attempts creating ill blood between the States, can not poſſibly exiſt. And hence we believe no ſeparation will follow.

Again, ſuppoſe there be no partialities whatever in a plan propoſed; but that it is a great Imperial meaſure, Conſequently, the neceſſity of unity in the ſyſtem eſtabliſhes the neceſſity of Viceroyal exertion and influence to carry it into execution. If then this influence ſucceed, and the people without the doors of Parliament be rendered averſe by the party of oppoſition within, or by factious leaders amongſt themſelves, what clamor, miſconception and ſedition will go forth and invite ſeparation? But ſuppoſe, on the contrary, that this influence fails, where an Imperial ſyſtem required unity: then, not only the Government is endangered by its weakneſs, but the whole Empire is ſhocked and convulſed, and the States, perhaps, torn aſunder, will preſent an awful ſeparation.

A view of parties alſo and of the conſtitution of thoſe Realms would clearly ſhew, that they are by no means formed for any other union, than an incorporatve one, without danger of ſeparation. An abſolute Monarchy is well calcuated for a different connection, becauſe it is above the re-action of an united State, or the influence of internal party: and, on the ſame ground, it is better calculated for remote poſſeſſions, or extended conqueſts. Had Britain not been bleſt with her conſtitution, America had not been rent from her. And hereon both coun-

tries ſhould ſeriouſly pauſe, to conſider ſeparation. In abſolute Monarchies, one will preſcribes, and the ſame will acts; but no man dares to impeach it. Whereas, in any union of *Free States*, (ſave where the executive and legiſlative authority of each, and all, are the ſame,) and in all diſtant Governments, connected with Free States, are combined the elements of numberleſs accuſations, which ſupply with food the rage of parties at home. But parties are widely different, with reſpect to States, *federally* united, and a Free State itſelf, or an incorporative union of Free States. In a Federal union they are as the thunderbolt, glancing from one part of the horizon to the other, to rend aſunder the unions of nature. But in a Free State, or incorporative union of Free States, they are like thoſe bodies of vapour, that ſerve as conductors to electric fire, and which ſeem to inflame the heavens, but enlighten mankind.

Parties, however, ſhould not be confounded with factions; and, of the latter, Ireland has long been too productive. They have been its bane; but Incorporation is the antidote. And were it only to purge the country of the dangers of this peſtilence, it were a ſufficient argument, for the adoption of this meaſure: Becauſe ſuch bodies are always influenced by private, not public ambition: becauſe their leaders would raiſe

themſelves upon the management of individuals and the fall of their country: becauſe it is the very ſpirit of faction to have *diviſion* and *corruption* in the State, and not UNION in the Empire, not integrity in its parts.

The chiefs of ſuch bodies communicate their paſſions to others: and through the incentives of avarice and ambition increaſe their factions in ſociety, to diſturb the public peace, and rob ſociety. What they could not effectuate individually in a ſingle ſtate, they effectuate collectively. But what they effectuate collectively in a *ſingle* ſtate, they could not effectuate in *an union* of the States. But, ſince the Viceroyal Government, conſtituted as it now is with legiſlative connection, has *often* been influenced, and *unable* to reſiſt thoſe factions: ſince, from ſuch moments, many of the miſchiefs of Ireland partly may be dated: and ſince ſuch factions and their leader, ſhould any ſuch hearafter ariſe, muſt hide their diminiſhed heads before an Imperial ſenate, conſequently, the great cauſe of *ſeparation* will thus lie vanquiſhed at the feet of Incorporation.

This want of union, this diviſion between the States and people of Britain and Ireland, have long enabled factions in both nations to bring diſgrace upon themſelves, and danger upon the Empire from abroad and at home. The ſame cauſes muſt ever produce the ſame effects, and

finally, perhaps, *ſeparation*. But Incorporation blaſts it in the very germ.

On theſe grounds, therefore, it were obviouſly wiſe to incorporate the Parliaments. The Executive Government of Ireland would then aſſume a new form. When, unincumbered with the buſineſs of Parliament and diſtractions of parties, all its vigilance and attention would be directed to the due execution of the laws;—and when, no longer expoſed to the influence of legiſlative party, it could no longer be accuſed of conſequent partiality.—Therefore, the *preſent* PLEA *and* DREAD *of* *SEPARATION* muſt be diſſolved, and the bond of connexion between thoſe realms be drawn cloſer.

The fifth poſition is—*That an amelioration of manners may not be expected from an Incorporative Union.*

Violations of moral order have been too long permitted to ſettle into habitudes in Ireland.—The effects of ſuch conduct in diſtant times are felt grievouſly to this day. Britain, however, has not now a Sovereign, who REFUSES its *laws, cuſtoms, and manners*, to Ireland, as thoſe in remote periods *; but who has thrown open to it, freedom and commerce; and now offers

* 2 Edward III. clauſe 17——Council Book of Ireland, 34 Hen. VIII.

a participation of Britain's opulence, ſtability, and glory :—*His* heart is alive to the intereſts of all his ſubjects—his boſom is open to receive them in joy or diſtreſs—and his arms to protect them.

Upon the ſubject of manners, we ſhall be guided by the evidence of known hiſtorical facts; and, through the experience of ages and countries, we ſhall ſeek inſtructions for the good of Ireland.

At a moment when the public mind had not yet been enlightened by the progreſs of knowledge, the firſt Political Compact took place between England and Ireland. Both countries became conſolidated under Henry II. by an imperial and dependent union. The influence of this union did not, however, ſuperſede the evils of an uncivilised ſtate; for the Iriſh were refuſed the ſanction of the Britiſh Laws, and kept under the bolts and bars of their own barbarous cuſtoms. At that moment, they were moulded into a ſpecies of moral monſter, bereft of all the virtues of a ſavage ſtate, and corrupted by all the vices of a civil one.

From the period of Henry II. in 1171, to the time of a reformation under JAMES, by Sir John Davies, a ſpace of 440 years intervened; and, from that time to the preſent, we have a term of 188 years. Now, that all the habits which had been contracted through a ſpace com-

mencing beyond human record or tradition—whoſe ſavage ſhades had been fixed through the ſucceeding tyranny of the civil ſtate during 440 years; and which had been rendered ſtill more ſavage, by the addition of new vices and the abolition of old virtues;—that all this accumulation of lawleſs and tumultuary barbariſm, collected and forced upon the natives through unlimited time, could have flowed off in 188 years—we believe no man, who has obſerved moral operations in ſociety, could well expect. To this muſt be added, that thoſe 188 years have been attended with peculiar circumſtances, which were by no means calculated to eradicate bad moral habits, and give back nature to its genuine and true tone. But, if we remove thoſe circumſtances, which have retarded the progreſs of that moral amelioration brought about by the civil reform, have we not juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe that a rapid improvement in manners will take place? And ſuch muſt be the effects of Incorporation:—Firſt, through a radical removal (as we have ſhewn before) of the diſcord of the higher parties, which arms the tumultuary rage and jealouſy of the lower; and next, through an inevitable improvement (as we ſhall now ſhow) of that condition of the lower claſſes, which ſhapes them, in all countries and ages, into apt tools for rebellion and vice.

If the people be happy, they will be virtuous; and, if the Great be virtuous, they will be happy. There is no maxim in morality more true. The queſtion, then, for the application of this moral truth, is—Are the people of Ireland as happy as they might* or ought to be? —becauſe, if they be not happy, I do not expect civil virtue.

Poverty is tolerable, in ſtates of ſavage equality; but it is inſupportable in the aſpect of civil opulence. Privations are indifferent to men, when enjoyments are not known; but privations become puniſhments in the centre of ſurrounding indulgences. Where there is exceſs of opulence and exceſs of poverty, ſocial *happineſs* muſt ceaſe, and civil liberty expire.—Eternal objects of envy, even the rich cannot be happy amidſt their enjoyments. They arm the miſerable with fire and ſword againſt them: and a dangerous immorality enſues. In ſuch caſes alſo, *corruption* creeps by the path of meanneſs from poverty to opulence. And *corruption* mounts alſo, with a vicious rapidity, to elevation, by all the means of moral abjection. What, then, muſt follow ſuch manners?

Throughout all ſocieties, in order to lay the foundation of civil VIRTUE, *ſocial happineſs*

* The ſtatement made before the Houſe of Commons in Ireland by Mr. Johnſon, is referred to—See note, page 10.

muſt be eſtabliſhed upon a general diffuſion of wealth. We mean by this, that, with regard to the lower orders, they muſt have decent raiment, comfortable dwellings, wholeſome and abundant food. Without theſe, civiliſed man is miſerable: and miſery creates *indolence*; and both *immorality*. But indolence and immorality muſt rapidly ſubſide, under trade and commerce ſpringing from ſecurity. Security will ſoon bring Engliſh ſkill and capital to Ireland; conſequent trade will promote agriculture; and trade, agriculture, and ſecurity, fully evince the benefits of Incorporation upon human manners.—It is thus a ſyſtem will ſoon develope, wherein we ſhall no longer ſee one part of the nation condemned to idleneſs, another to indigence, and both to misfortune. But we ſhall behold *activity* diffuſed throughout the nation, without which there is no happineſs; and energy, without which there is no virtue. Then the combinations of vice will ceaſe among the aſpiring low, and the expedients of baſeneſs among the ſuffering poor. Force of body or faculties of mind will offer more eaſy modes of ſubſiſtence, honorable purſuits, and greater hopes.

The capital will no longer be a gulph of riches and men. The one and the other will be diſtributed more equally throughout the provinces. The towns will be leſs populous; the

country more ſo;—and the inhabitants more united and leſs diſtreſſed, will find, in this new ſituation, peace, *happineſs*, and *virtue*.

Theſe principles are not founded upon ſpeculation, but upon facts and experience:—we reaſon not as metaphyſicians, we ſpeak from example. Hiſtory demonſtrates that manners are more pure, aud happineſs more great, in proportion as riches are leſs unequal amongſt the the people of all nations. Greece alone furniſhes many examples of this truth. Lacedæmon owed, to this circumſtance, the preſervation of its virtues during ages.

We have further corroboration of the truth of theſe principles in the example of Rome.—After the expulſion of the Tarquins, an odious and diſproportionate inequality remained between the two great orders of the ſtate: had it continued, Rome had ſoon periſhed, and perhaps its name had not come down to us. But, as this diſproportion diſappeared, *virtues* came forward, and prepared the Romans for the conqueſt of the world. However, the plunder of nations brought on an inequality more deadly. The manners became rapidly corrupt, they prepared the ruin of the Republic; they became more corrupt, and the Republic is no more. This is a picture: May it not prove a prophecy?—let France look to it.

But without recurring further to ancient proofs, we have a ſtriking example at home. Behold, Britain! Where is there a more juſt and general diffuſion of wealth—and where is there more *happineſs*—where more *virtue?*—— What is Britain, in thoſe days of yeomanry?— what was it, in thoſe of vaſſalage?

In ſuch barbarous times throughout Europe, ſo different from the preſent, and in no inſtance more than the following, the men leaſt civilized were the moſt exalted. For to ignorance they joined brutal valour and brutal manners, and concentred the vices ariſing from riches and power. Such an order of men was to be ruined before they were to be civiliſed. And through commerce and the arts, this barbariſm of Europe has been removed. For, when the Indies flung its wealth into the lap of Europe, ſuch men became more luxurious, more diſtreſſed, more ſubmiſſive; their ſovereigns more free; and the people leſs oppreſſed. The whole maſs of manners has been changed by commerce. Its activity has given new life to men, ſince fortunes depend leſs upon titles than upon induſtry: for the man of nothing, who has talents, elevates himſelf, while the great man, who has them not, tumbles.

Theſe are the indiſputable effects of commerce. It has, throughout Europe—it has,

manifeſtly in Britain, freed Kings from ſlavery; and people from oppreſſion: and thus in all countries, commerce brings in riches; riches produce luxury; luxury puts down the high and exalts the low. Thus vice is puniſhed, if not checked above; and virtue and induſtry encouraged below. It is the univerſal ſyſtem whereby manners have been ameliorated: the proofs are before us.

But if luxury paſs into a country throughout any other medium than that of commerce, the ſame effects will not follow. We are informed by hiſtory, that commerce had enriched ſome towns of Italy, and introduced luxury. The Popes introduced this luxury into France: and their legates left it in all the courts: but commerce was not in the train. What was the conſequence? This luxury rendered the people more poliſhed, but not more civilized, not more politically moralized.

A nation becomes civilized in proportion as it quits the manners, which marked its barbarous ſtate. It becomes politically moraliſed, as it obeys the laws that oppoſe diſorder, and form an habitude of ſocial virtues. And it becomes poliſhed, when it piques itſelf on its elegance in thought or action. Thus for example, the Greeks were civiliſed before the times of Solon or Lycurgus: they were politically moraliſed

during the ages of theſe two Legiſlators; and they were poliſhed during that of Pericles. In modern times, the French amidſt their luxury were poliſhed: the Engliſh with luxury on one ſide, and commerce on the other, ſtand between and enjoy poliſh and political morality: whereas the Iriſh are in the extremes. The one claſs is not yet politically moraliſed, for it has not contracted the ſocial virtues; nor can it contract them until it is happy in the comforts of the ſocial ſtate. But the other claſs is arrived at the ſtate of poliſh and luxury. If however atticiſm and urbanity marked the decline of Greeks and Romans, what may be the reſult to day, where poliſhed luxury is at war with civil miſery? That which is not expected: virtue and happineſs will ariſe from this ſtate. For, commerce will advance the one claſs, and bring back the other to that point of political morality, where *happineſs* will ſecure *virtue* amongſt the people, and *virtue* inſure *happineſs* amongſt the great. And thus will incorporation aſſimilate Ireland to England, and ameliorate the manners of the former. For, even the ſtate of Vaſſalage was put down in the latter by commerce, and the nation advanced to its preſent point of poliſh and political morality.

It ſhould be remarked too, that this meaſure of Incorporation wiſely combining the two great

principles of Legiſlation and Government, unfolds in one act the *policy* of *nature*, and the *policy* of the *paſſions*. It proceeds upon the phyſical relations of the two countries, as to poſition and advantages, and it conſults the moral caſt of ſociety, or the manners and moral effects of natural and civil cauſes. Muſt it not therefore, clearly and inevitably, under the operations of ſuch true principles, harmonize *all jarrings, external and internal*? And through ſuch effects *muſt* not VIRTUE be diffuſed throughout the nation? We ſhall not then behold, what is the greateſt VICE under Government, men living no longer under the empire of the laws. This is ſurely therefore a meaſure of ſound policy: Sound policy is ſound morality: and that ſound morality will not ameliorate manners, is an unwarranted aſſertion. From the chaos of rebellion thus a great nation may ariſe, ſecure under HAPPINESS and growing amidſt its VIRTUES.

CONCLUSION.

There are certain points peculiarly deſerving the attention of different bodies.

The Catholics will no doubt wiſely balance what they wiſh to gain, and what they have to loſe by Incorporation. Firſt, their great object is the acquiſition of Legiſlative Power—but that power were more attainable in a Britiſh Parliament than in an Iriſh one, for the conſtitutiona

impediments are equal in both countries, but the prejudices and apprehenſions muſt be leſs in the former. Beſide, if they were at preſent to acquire emancipation in Ireland, it were a tantalizing boon which they could not enjoy. Nine tenths of the landed property being in the poſſeſſion of Proteſtants, it muſt enſure no ſmall ſway in county elections, which will be uſed with double exertions, to keep Catholics out of an Iriſh Parliament. And as to Boroughs, they were formed expreſsly to exclude Catholics from Parliament; ſo that the whole frame of the Legiſlature muſt be broken up, and the whole conſtitution muſt be changed and altered, before they can taſte emancipation, were it even granted to them. After this they will conſider what enjoyments, the maxims of ſtateſmen on tolerated ſects, might move and ſanction others to take back, if not ſecured by Incorporation. When the Catholics were in the proportion of forty to one Proteſtant, their reſtraints were very ſevere. They are now as three to one; but this univerſal maxim of policy, with reſpect to ſects, which is followed over the globe, even where they are weak, has been relaxed in Ireland, beyond examample, where they are ſtill ſtrong. Theſe are ſurely civil bleſſings; and of which indeed ſome of the moſt wiſe and virtuous men of that body ſeem truly ſenſible.

Unhappily however, under the ſanction of names and ſome popular principles in politics and religion, the ſenſe and piety of others have been cruelly deluded by bad men. Miſerable impoſtors! What have they done? They have let looſe upon fallen Catholics, upon mild and ſimple cultivators of the land, the monſter fanaticiſm which drinks the blood of mankind. They have blooded the ſun of their riſing liberties with an horrid war. Why did they prompt the Catholics to take up arms? Was it for religion? Their religion was not attacked: their temples are ſtill open; even a college has been founded by the Government for the education of their clergy, and the inſtruction of their youth. Was it for their liberty? Never did they enjoy ſo much. And in no nation under heaven does a ſect differing from that eſtabliſhed by the policy of the ſtate, enjoy ſuch a portion. The Catholics then will wiſely ſecure theſe bleſſings. And as to the vanity of ambition and all its empty acquiſitions, where laws and freedom are equal, ſurely there is a much more ſolid and endearing power over mankind, through the influence of an happy ſuperiority ariſing from the virtues, the opulence, the induſtry of commerce. Riches and beneficence are far beyond the glare of office, or the thorny

pillow of ſtation. We ſpeak to the underſtandings of men, and not to their paſſions.

Through the effects of the ſuppoſed union we conceive that *all profeſſions* muſt reap conſiderable advantage. For as the proſperity of Ireland will then keep pace with the proſperity of the empire, and as the proſperity of the empire muſt be indiſputably increaſed by this Incorporation, conſequently by Incorporation Ireland muſt acquire aggrandizement and elevation. And as the population, commerce, and agriculture of Ireland increaſe, ſo muſt neceſſarily the *objects* of all profeſſions; and likewiſe the *remunerations* of ſcience and the arts be proportionately augmented.

Upon this ground, profeſſional man may entertain wide and ſolid expectations, for there is an extenſive and obvious latitude for improvement in Ireland. If we calculate upon what that nation *is*, and what ſhe *was*, we may ſee what ſhe *may be*, and conſequently what men have to expect.—Firſt, then with reſpect to what ſhe is, and the latitude for future improvement; there are many and great deficiencies in a civil, religious and commercial view; which are highly impolitic, and indeed diſgraceful in ſo great an empire, and in ſo enlightened an age. Is a continued chain of ſanguinary rebellions, a proof of civiliſation? Is ſuch a ſtate of

agriculture, is one ſolitary manufacture, is poverty and complaint a proof of enlightened policy? Is the moſt abject ſuperſtition, is the moſt ſanguine bigotry, a proof of ſound or true morality? Is the commerce of the country compared with its extraordinary capacities, a proof of civil economy? Let men diſpaſſionately conſider, if they would have Ireland remain thus? But ſhe cannot remain thus: ſhe muſt deſcend by Separation, or aſcend by Incorporation. And what that aſcent or what Ireland *may be*, will be beſt calculated on a retroſpective glance at what *ſhe was*. In the beginning of this century her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about four hundred thouſand pounds per annum: and now her commerce with *Great Britain alone* is about ten fold that ſum. The queſtion then is, whence the enormous increaſe which ſhe has experienced within thoſe few years? Becauſe Britain before that period turned her back upon Ireland, and her face toward America, and ſhe was loſt in her ſhadow: but then turning with a partial influence toward Ireland, that country has rapidly grown under the warmth of her ſpendor and protection. Now ſhe would embrace her in her glory, and what muſt be the effects? Will men embrace them by Incorporation, or reject them and ſeparate?

The world is now entering upon a new epoch of things. New views and new relations, political and commercial, muſt ariſe between ſtates, from the coincidences of thoſe times. A ſtrange variation marks this awful period, and renders uncertain the pending iſſue of affairs. It will therefore be at leaſt wiſe in every branch of the Britiſh Empire, to coaleſce and conſolidate her energies, that ſhe may meet this moment of trial with a commanding aſpect.

It is no inconſiderable maxim in policy that Governments watch over the inclinations of their own ſubjects, and conſult the genius and tendency of other nations. They ſhould hearken attentively to the times, obſerving the bias of men and ſeaſon of things. Theſe are Counſellors, whoſe voice ſpeaks aloud to all parties, and ſhould be the guide of all men. Tutored by them, they will remark, that in bodies politic as well as natural, diſeaſes may be death, or may prove remedies. The days of Cromwell were a political fever, when many vitiated humours were thrown off: Every diſorder of the conſtitution became *notorious*, and the remedies were *underſtood*.

To day both diſorder and remedy are manifeſt in Ireland. Separated, however, as ſhe is, the thunderbolt has often fallen, and its force was not heard: but united, it muſt be heard, it will

be felt in Britain. The whole ſyſtem of things will be changed; the operations will be different, the wheels different, and the moving force better propotioned to the reſiſting power. In a more numerous* Senate there will be an acquiſition of wiſdom. And the legiſlatures of the three nations will thus become the heart of the Empire, to diffuſe vigour throughout the whole, by their ſound and wholeſome laws: or theſe laws muſt return corrupted and deſtructive to that ſource, whence they firſt originated. It will, therefore, be no longer the raſh or unwiſe experiment of one nation, repoſing for a prop on the other in caſe of failure. For the fate of one and all will be at iſſue, and the wiſdom of the whole will, at leaſt, be cautious.

" Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum,
" Una ſalus ambobus erit." VIRG.

Thus then, with an anxious deſire for the real good of the Iriſh nation, and for the ſplendour and invigoration of the Empire at large, we have placed before men their public condition, that they may think wiſely and act juſtly. It were

* It may paſs for a maxim in State, that *the adminiſtration cannot be placed in too few hands*, nor the *Legiſlature in too many*. Dean Swift.

more

more than imprudent, at this day, to harmoniſe parties to an accordance, which was not founded upon the unalterable ſcale of truth. But wiſely, honeſtly, and openly brought into uniſon, and to embrace an Incorporation, they will ſoon fell to the earth the monſter Rebellion. Proud are we to ſay, that we do not ſtand ſingle upon the meditated ruins of bad ſyſtems. And we doubt not that one heart will animate and one mind pervade men, when they ſhall have ſeriouſly and diſpaſſionately reconſidered thoſe *injuries* and *loſſes* *gains* and *benefits*, which have been or may be attributed to this Incorporative union.

INJURIES.

The firſt injuries are thoſe urged at a meeting of the gentlemen of the Iriſh bar—

1. "*That the poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of taxes, which the riches of England ſuſtain with eaſe and comfort,*"—This has been clearly confuted.

2. "*That in the United Parliaments, in all caſes of competition, Ireland muſt ſuffer.*"—It has been undeniably proved that this cannot be the caſe.

3. "*That this Union tends ultimately to ſeparation.*"—The reverſe ſhewn: for, WITHOUT INCORPORATION, SEPARATION muſt follow.

4. " *That Amelioration of manners will not refult from this Union, but perhaps the contrary.*" Facts, analogy, and the experience of ages, overturn this poſition.

The next Injury which has been attributed to this meaſure by other gentlemen, has appeared in the following ſhape :

5. " Should the Proteſtant gentlemen, whoſe ſervices ſtemmed the torrent of rebellion, and ſaved the nation to the Empire, be removed ?" The anſwer is, the *cauſes* of rebellion are to be removed, and the nation ſaved effectually to itſelf. Beſide, how few of theſe gentlemen will be removed ?

LOSSES.

6. The loſſes of money to the capital, by the ſums ſpent in England by thoſe attending on Parliament. " Firſt, The number will be inconſiderable : ſecond, if through this number a leſs were to be ſuſtaind, it would be much more than counterbalanced by the civil effects : third, in reality, no ſuch loſs can be felt from the overbalancing *increaſe* of commerce : and fourth, ſuch an apparent loſs were a real gain to the capital in views of trade and manufacture.

7. A formidable one, according to the ſpirit of rivalry, appears in the diminution of repreſentation. Some have ſaid, that the dignity and conſequence of Ireland would be lowered,

by the reduction of its members. It is tolerably obvious that Ireland muſt be exalted in wealth and power, by this ſcheme. Beſide, in fact, is repreſentation a juſt ſcale of Political dignity? If ſo, how ſuperior in civil importance is the pot-houſe of old Sarum to the great and populous towns of Birmingham and Mancheſter together? Alſo, ſince Yorkſhire ſends thirty members to Parliament, and London but four, then London muſt, indeed, be very inconſiderable as to its importance; and, its comparative conſequence toward York is, according to this meaſure, exactly double that of the beer-houſe at Old Sarum, which ſends two members to the Senate.

8. The next loſs, which is urged, is one that will prove a gain beyond calculation. Flaming PATRIOTS, as they *would* be thought, have called the union an act, whereby a youthful and riſing body is coupled to one old in decay and tumbling into diſſolution. Now, in truth, the fact is, that it is joining the Iriſh nation, old in diſorder and feeble in itſelf, through thoſe diſorders, to one that is vigorous and virtuous. It is the union of a child, or ratlær a pigmy, to a giant, in ſtrength, commerce and freedom, for mutual ſupport. For ſince the poſitive or relative power of nations is eſtimated by ſize, population and wealth; what is Ireland in all thoſe

three, toward the whole of the British Empire beſide? What is her opulence or power compared to the ſources of both in the commerce of Britain alone, and in that navy which is the broad ſhield of the univerſe? If the taxable income, as ſtated by Mr. Pitt, and we apprehend that it is underſtated through diſcretion, amounts, after deducting the one million of Ireland, to 101 *million* annually, it is not a difficult matter for Ireland to calculate upon ſuch *data* the relative capital of both countries. When the relative capital is aſcertained, then let her aſk herſelf, whether it were wiſe or not to join in ſuch a firm as that of Britain for commerce, and whether it were well to join with ſuch a free and powerful nation, for an equality in both?

GAINS.

Let us now view the *gains* reſulting from Incorporation.

9. The civil ſyſtem improved, in property; in public and private condition; and in political ſituation.

10. The religious or eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem: by the revival of moral obedience, and reſpect to its authority, which have too long been and muſt ever be loſt in civil diſcords and fanatic rebellions, that undermine the throne and the altar: improved alſo in the ſecurity of its poſ-

ſeſſions and eſtabliſhments. Query—Should not the catholic eſtabliſhment be taken under the patronage and protection of Government; and the clergy of this body and of the diſſenters have their ſupport from the Crown?

11. Commercial ſyſtem, under ſecurity and tranquillity, muſt be improved in ſkill, capital, and extent, beyond the poſſibility of calculation.

BENEFITS.

Laſtly, let us view ſome few of the *benefits*.

12. The nation will be freed from the characteriſtic and immoral impulſion given to the people, by civil circumſtances, down through ages, and under the Imperial union.

13. It will be freed from the political and ambitious impulſion given to other orders, under the Federal Union.

14. It will be freed from the effects of that awful impulſion, given to many, by the civil peſtilence of the times.

15. It will be freed from diſtreſſes, which have been *long* exiſting, according to the teſtimony of the ſervants and *friends* of Government.

It will be freed from diſtreſſes which have been aggravated, for the purpoſes of rebellion, by the enemies of *Government*.

It will be freed from diſtreſſes which are atteſted by the ableſt politicians of Europe, men

no way connected with Ireland, but by their knowledge and virtues, with which they have laboured for the good of the Empire, and have been crowned with the applauſes of the univerſe.

For theſe great and valuable purpoſes, and upon the grounds and reaſons before mentioned, we are the advocates of an Incorporative union. To raiſe up ſuch a *ſyſtem* of happineſs and virtue upon the ruin of bad ones, and not to accommodate errors but eradicate evils, our Phalanx is ſome of the ableſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt men of both nations.

All other party we diſclaim: Little diſtinction is loſt in our view. In the comprehenſive ſound of Empire, our mind embraces but an uniſon of nations: in that of nations it awakens but a thought of mankind. Judges, before whoſe tribunal we bow, your happineſs is our object. If our zeal be exceſſive, we ſubmit to your reproach: But, as the friend of Ireland, we would drive from the cradle of its infant greatneſs, the monſters that menace its exiſtence and repoſe. Tarquins may condemn us, but no Brutus will accuſe us.

THE END.

Lately Published,

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

Second Edition, Price 1s. 6d. *of*

A LETTER to the Right Hon. Earl Cholmondely on the CIVIL POLICY of the ANCIENTS: to which is prefixed an *Enumeration* of the *Confiscations* &c. &c. by the French Nation: from Official Documents.

Also by the same Author,

PROOFS OF PROVIDENCE,

A Thanksgiving Sermon preached at *Grosvenor Chapel*, Nov. 22, 1798, on the Success of His Majesty's Arms.

Likewise, Price 1s.

Christianity contrasted with *Modern Philosophy*, in their Influence upon Civil Society: A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at *Quebec Chapel, Portman Square*, on the *Providential Escape* of HIS MAJESTY.

Just Published, Price 6d.

LETTER to JOSHUA SPENCER Esq.
ON AN UNION
By W. JOHNSON Esq. Barrister.